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New York

President:	Mr. Aguilar Zinser	(Mexico)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou
	Chile	Mr. Valdés
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	France	Mrs. D'Achon
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Guinea	Mr. Boubacar Diallo
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Spain	Ms. Menéndez
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Mekdad
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Thomson
	United States of America	Mr. Williamson

Agenda

The situation in Timor-Leste

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (S/2003/449)

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03-33636 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Timor-Leste

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (S/2003/449)

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Australia, Brazil, Fiji, Indonesia, Japan, New Zealand, Portugal and Timor-Leste in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Guterres (Timor-Leste) took a seat at the Council table; Mr. Dauth (Australia), Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil), Mr. Savua (Fiji), Mr. Percaya (Indonesia), Mr. Haraguchi (Japan), Mr. MacKay (New Zealand) and Mr. de Santa Clara Gomes (Portugal) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Kamalesh Sharma, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Timor-Leste and Head of Mission.

It is so decided.

I invite Mr. Sharma to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2003/449, which contains the special report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Kamalesh Sharma, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Timor-Leste and Head of Mission.

I now give the floor to Mr. Sharma.

Mr. Sharma: It is indeed a great pleasure to participate, under your chairmanship, Sir, in this open periodical debate on the progress of the mandate given to the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET). My previous statement before the Council was made six months after the accession to independent statehood of Timor-Leste and the current report covers almost a year since independence. My statement today is being made shortly before the Council will deliberate the adoption of a draft resolution extending the mandate of UNMISET for a final year.

With the passage of time, the experience of any newly independent nation exhibits features in the continuum of national experience, with emerging potentialities. In respect of the evolving situation over the first year of Timor-Leste, I wish to remark first of all on developments to which a re-evaluated response was required by the Council in the security-related mandate of UNMISET.

I would like to begin by expressing our appreciation for the Security Council's recognition of the pivotal requirement of international support for the stability of Timor-Leste, as reflected in its adoption of resolution 1473 (2003). The strengthening of the police force through a recast strategy involving accretion of capacity and mobility, reinforced training and augmentation of professionalism according to the highest policing standards, on the one hand, and a more gradual drawdown of the peacekeeping forces, on the other, are of critical importance. They will be of enormous assistance as we seek to address the emergent threats identified in the Secretary-General's special report: the risk of civil disorder and the criminal and politically motivated violence in rural areas, which appears to be part of a strategy by the perpetrators to try to instigate numerous such incidents simultaneously across the entire territory of the country in order to encourage a perception of a crisis in governance and instil a fear of returning social disorder.

A surge in violence at this time could potentially generate a demoralizing psychological apprehension in the population of a recrudescence of violence and of the rending of the social fabric still fresh in memory and experienced in the searing national turmoil only a few years ago. This factor of traumatic national experience will diminish in potency through the passage of time, but the initial years of the State are critical in firmly entrenching the confidence both of the Government and of the people that the political, administrative and security order in the State, on which all steady social and economic advance depends, cannot be shaken or challenged. The slower drawdown of the UNMISET military component would contribute to reducing the threat posed by such groups, while also ensuring that the police forces have adequate time to develop. The revised drawdown schedule is contained in the report of the Secretary-General before the Council.

UNMISET has noted the emphasis widely placed by members of the Council and other Member States on the institutional strengthening of the police and has initiated and supported actions by the Government of Timor-Leste in this direction, in collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and other development partners. These efforts will build in particular on the foundation provided by the report of the joint assessment mission on policing requirements. The recommendations of the joint assessment mission will be reflected in the comprehensive road map under preparation for institutional strengthening and their implementation will be overseen by a committee on institutional strengthening of the police, chaired by the Minister of the Interior. This process was further supported by discussions during a major international workshop with the highest-level participation, which has just concluded.

We have been mindful to learn the appropriate lessons from the civic riots in Dili, the instance of armed attacks in the district of Ermera and subsequent instances of armed banditry in other districts. These first instances of security threats to the State have provided additional impetus for recasting, planning and augmenting readiness to make such challenges difficult to mount in the future. That there will be other instances of attempted assaults on the fabric of law and order is a reasonable surmise. However, Timor-Leste is now on a path where it can be quick to respond effectively to such situations and work towards eventually dismantling such threats through appropriate security, political and economic measures, which would progressively show positive results.

The process of handing over policing functions to the National Police of Timor-Leste (PNTL) continues, with some adjustments, and responsibility for policing more than half of the districts in the country's territory is now in the hands of PNTL. We are strengthening our presence as advisors in all districts and headquarters to ensure a process of smooth transition until all responsibility is transferred by mid-2004. With the cluster of improvements initiated, it is expected that the State will be better equipped with the essential means necessary to ensure stability in the time to come, even though reviewing and enhancing security capacity and responsibility in the light of requirements is admittedly a continuing and evolving process.

In the development of beneficial external relations of Timor-Leste, the growing and constructive relationship between Timor-Leste and Indonesia has been a great asset. High-level visits have been exchanged that have given political direction and substance to the positively evolving relationship and the Prime Minister of Timor-Leste will be making his first official visit to Indonesia in early June. Through the forward-looking meeting of the Joint Commission, both countries have resolved upon cooperation in a variety of areas. Both countries are also striving to meet the target for delineation of the land border by 30 June, but it will require substantial effort on both sides to achieve that target date. Some financial and technical support is needed to complete the joint actions required by the deadline and eventually also for carrying out demarcation of the international boundary. The process of handing over border oversight and control services from the peacekeeping force to the Border Patrol Unit of the Timor-Leste Police has commenced.

I wish to acknowledge here the encouragement which I have received through the reception accorded to me at the highest political levels in Jakarta. It continues to be our endeavour to play as helpful a role as we can to both sides in advancing the bilateral relationship in transitional matters, as we have been mandated to do, over the duration of UNMISET.

Despite efforts deployed by both countries and the international community, around 30,000 refugees remain in West Timor. Voluntary resettlement in other

parts of Indonesia continues to be the policy of Indonesia. The return of refugees to Timor-Leste has virtually ceased since last December after the announcement of the cessation clause by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), though a significant decline in returns had been perceptible even in October and November. It is encouraging to note that, while some former adherents of the militias have again been involved in criminal activities in Timor-Leste, the Government of Indonesia has stated its commitment to assist in neutralizing those elements.

The task of developing a professional, dedicated and responsive public administration from ground level is no less a challenge for the new State. The Council had mandated UNMISET to prepare the groundwork for the structure of a national administration over two years, and halfway through the process we can report that progress is satisfactory, given the scope of capacity-building support that could be provided, limited to providing international advisers to 100 stability posts. The uneven situation in respect of counterparts that could be provided, given the undeveloped skills inherited by Timorese society, has been another constraining feature.

It is clear, however, that within the 15 sectors where we provide support, there are areas where the necessity of continued mentoring and online assistance will remain on account of the depth of expertise necessary, the extent and scope of practical and conceptual knowledge to be transferred and the critical nature of some crucial sectors. In the period following the departure of UNMISET, it has to be ensured that the functioning of those critical sectors is not jeopardized. We have initiated the process of identifying the areas where continuing supportiveness will be required, together with the reasons for it. That assessment will be shared with the Council and other partners so that appropriate successor arrangements may be taken in hand in good time.

The role of UNDP, which is crucial in advocating the need for further capacity-building support and filling, in parallel, more than 200 development posts, will continue to be central. UNMISET has been particular in keeping the civilian support programme under constant review, in close consultation with the Government, for lessons that are progressively learnt and improvements that can be effected.

The Serious Crimes Unit was set up under the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) for the judicial handling of cases of egregious crimes surrounding the popular consultation of 1999. The Unit had to resolve many challenges in the start-up phase, and efforts need to be made continuously in facilitating the work of the Special Panels for Serious Crimes at the Dili District Court, which has been made responsible for trying those cases in the areas of investigation, prosecution, trial, defence and support services to the Court. Subsequent to the judgements, we must anticipate the appeals phase. The process, although slower than earlier envisaged when the constraints were not clear, is now under way.

In respect to the 10 priority cases of crimes against humanity and the five cases of widespread patterns of serious violations of human rights, progress as of the end of April 2003 has been as follows: Investigations have been completed in nine out of the ten priority cases. Eight additional major cases of crimes against humanity have been fully investigated and indicted so far. Trials are proceeding in those cases where the accused are in Timor-Leste, and two cases — Los Palos and Lolotae — have been judged at the first instance. In many other cases the trials may not even commence due to the absence of defendants, a large proportion of whom remain outside of Timor-Leste.

The role of UNMISET has been to provide substantive, administrative and technical support to the process so that the infrastructure required for the trials is available. In order to assist in the investigation and indictment phase, and in the subsequent trials, UNMISET has provided the Prosecutor General of Timor-Leste with an international Deputy Prosecutor General, who heads the Serious Crimes Unit composed of prosecutors and investigators. UNMISET has also provided the services of judges for the panels and public defenders for the trials. Along with areas, such as public administration and policing, which will continue to require support after UNMISET withdraws, the mandate to bring to justice the perpetrators of serious crimes committed in 1999 is another area which will require deliberation as to the appropriate post-UNMISET arrangement, as it is certain that the judicial process cannot be completed within the period of UNMISET's mandate, which is until mid-2004.

The economic situation of Timor-Leste is slow to improve given the comprehensive legacy of underdevelopment inherited by the newly independent

State. The path of development and fulfilment of economic and social needs will be long and arduous, and in the foreseeable future the country will have to manage the political and economic pressures created by depressed economic and social indicators and, in particular, joblessness. The indicators of poverty for Timor-Leste enumerated in the UNDP Human Development Report of 2002 include an infant mortality rate of 80 in every 1,000 live births; an adult literacy rate of 43 per cent — with 46 per cent of the population having never attended school — resulting in a large inexperienced and unskilled work force; more than two out of five people living on 55 cents a day or less; a life expectancy of only 57 years; and a per capita gross domestic product of less than $500, with a total gross domestic product of $380 million.

The majority of the East Timorese people still practise subsistence agriculture, with extremely rudimentary means of production. The economy needs a focus on agriculture based on greater diversity and quantity of production, encouragement to small industries, creation of professional services and opportunities for self-employment as the basis of the Timorese economy. The Government recognizes that, as a small and not heavily populated country, Timor-Leste should enable greater participation of beneficiaries in the process of development.

Timor-Leste seeks self-sufficiency as an objective to be achieved in the medium term. The existence of the means for doing so is encouraging. In my last statement to the Council I stated the favourable conditions possessed by Timor-Leste in terms of its affluent and dynamic neighbourhood and its reserves of natural resources that could be turned to advantage for the country's economic upturn.

The ratification, after a protracted process, of the Timor Sea Treaty between Timor-Leste and Australia, enabling the exploitation of an offshore oil and gas field, has been an important development for the public finances of Timor-Leste. Prospects for further revenues will be enhanced through cooperation between the two countries on another identified field. In respect of the five metallic ores and three types of industrial clays that have been surveyed and that are believed to exist in commercial quantities, the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) has prepared a comprehensive report, which was presented to the Government by the ESCAP Executive Secretary earlier in the year. The fisheries and tourism potential also remains to be exploited. The Government is aware that in order to attract investor interest the basic laws and guidelines required have to be put in place quickly. Timor-Leste has also formally applied for recognition as a least developed country. Concessions granted to such countries by other countries could potentially attract some investors.

Development strategies towards fulfilment of the goals in the comprehensive National Development Plan are being pursued with the participation of bilateral partners and institutions. The national exercise of identifying policy priorities on the basis of popular consultation has evinced close compatibility with the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. The Government is committed to registering advances in key social indicators. A signal contribution is being made in assisting the development process by UNDP and the United Nations agencies, and that relationship will, of course, continue after UNMISET's departure in mid-2004.

The role being played by other United Nations agencies, funds and programmes is truly commendable and will contribute to a smooth transition to a traditional development assistance framework after the completion of UNMISET's mandate. The decision to appoint the Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General as Resident Representative of the UNDP and Resident Coordinator of United Nations agencies has demonstrated its value in practice, and I should like to acknowledge here the important contribution made by the Deputy Special Representative, Mr. Sukehiro Hasegawa. UNMISET itself has encouraged initiatives through the creation of a science park and science education in cooperation with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, through business promotion and the development of small enterprises in cooperation with the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, and through focused pilot projects of direct economic and social benefit in identified rural areas with the Department of Economic and Social Affairs. I also wish to acknowledge their support and responsiveness.

The Council can take satisfaction in the contribution its decisions have made to consolidating and buttressing the new nation of Timor-Leste, now a Member of the United Nations. The Council has before it the report of the Secretary-General (S/2003/449), which provides information on the current situation in

some detail. Experience shows that nation-building is the result of unremitting effort and belief in political values that a country's leadership and citizens can bring to bear to the task; partners can play only a supportive role. The United Nations has played that role well. The Council must, in due course, take a view on the optimal form that the Organization's association with Timor-Leste should take after UNMISET has concluded, in the context of intrinsic requirements. The engagement of the international community in peace-building and institution-building will need to continue. As UNMISET downsizes in preparation for its ultimate withdrawal, we will be reviewing possible options through which those continuing needs can be met.

Timor-Leste should proceed on its chosen path with faith and persistence, reflecting the central importance of an ethos of governance based on the rule of law — the judiciary must move swiftly to win public confidence — personal freedoms and universal principles of human rights. The United Nations will continue to be an ally on that journey.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Mr. Sharma for the information that he shared with the Security Council this afternoon, and I thank the Secretary-General for his report.

I now give the floor to Council members. In doing so, I should like to recommend that statements be limited to five minutes so that we can hold this afternoon's meeting within the planned time frame as easily as possible.

Ms. Menédez (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Mr. Sharma for presenting the report of the Secretary-General (S/2003/449).

The progress made by Timor-Leste with the support of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) during its first year is immense and encouraging. The foundations have been laid for the development of a State that is democratic, independent, respectful of human rights and integrated into the region and that maintains good relations with Indonesia. However, a long road remains ahead, and the international community's assistance continues to be essential.

Timor-Leste's public institutions must be strengthened, and a culture of responsible management must be developed. The administration, including the judicial authority, must consist of apolitical and professional officials, chosen in a transparent way on the basis of their merits. The UNMISET Civilian Support Group has a fundamental role.

Spain welcomes the commitment of the Government of Timor-Leste to human rights, which has taken shape in the ratification of the Statute of the International Criminal Court and other fundamental international treaties in that area. In addition, we salute the establishment of the Office of the Provedor for Human Rights and Justice, and we hope that it will begin to function as soon as possible.

The continued progress in bilateral relations with Indonesia is very encouraging. Both States, with international help, must make all the necessary efforts to comply with their commitment to reaching an agreement on border demarcation before 30 June, as well as to establishing a flexible border regime and facilitating communications for the residents of the Oecussi enclave.

As the Secretary-General points out in his report, relations between Indonesia and Timor-Leste will improve over the long term with the prosecution in both countries of those charged with having committed serious crimes in 1999. In that connection, we acknowledge the important step taken by Indonesia in bringing the perpetrators of those violations before the ad hoc Human Rights Tribunal. However, we are disappointed at the way in which the trials are proceeding. Therefore, we urge the Indonesian Government to improve those judicial processes in a transparent way in order to ensure that justice is done. At the same time, the reconciliation process in Timor-Leste must be completed. The Serious Crimes Unit and the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation, both assisted by UNMISET, have fundamental roles to play.

Furthermore, we hope that the treaties recently signed with Australia on energy and maritime resources help to foster the much-needed economic development of Timor-Leste. Through the European Union and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), we shall continue to support programmes aimed at, inter alia, reducing poverty and rehabilitating basic infrastructures. In addition, Spain has included Timor-Leste in its international cooperation plan, within the framework of assistance provided to non-governmental organizations that carry out development assistance plans in Timor-Leste.

Resolution 1473 (2003), which we recently adopted unanimously, envisages an adjustment of UNMISET's police and military components. The National Police of Timor-Leste must prepare itself to meet its new challenges with professionalism, responsibility and effectiveness. With regard to the military component, we support the revised strategy proposed by the Secretary-General.

In conclusion, I wish to express my country's support for the renewal of UNMISET's mandate for one more year, until May 2004, so that it can successfully complete work that has gone well thus far.

Mr. Valdés (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): First of all, Sir, allow me to congratulate you on the excellent way in which you have conducted our work during this month. I would like to express the gratitude of the delegation of Chile for having convened this meeting to consider the Secretary-General's report (S/2003/449), dated 21 April, on the situation in Timor-Leste. We would also like to thank our friend, Mr. Kamalesh Sharma, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for his briefing.

Last March the Security Council held a public meeting to comment on the Secretary-General's special report, which mentioned serious civil disturbances and subsequent acts of violence that affected the security situation in that country. On that occasion, adjustments were proposed to downsize the presence of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET), and they were supported by the Council members through the adoption of resolution 1473 (2003), of 4 April. The resolution supports the proposal for the adjustment of the downsizing of the police component, welcomes a revised schedule for the downsizing of the military component and calls for a detailed military strategy for the revised schedule.

We also share the view concerning the specific security situation, and that the solution of those immediate problems must be seen within a broad framework in a long-term process that would make it possible to fully establish a viable, independent State.

We now acknowledge UNMISET's dedicated efforts in complying with its mandate in Timor-Leste. In particular, we note the work done by the Civilian Support Group, which has trained public servants and has broadly supported the administration of this new country. In this context, we urge them to continue working on developing a strategic plan to identify the areas that will require bilateral support. We also value the work that has made it possible for the National Police of Timor-Leste to have 2,530 officers present in 6 of the country's 13 districts. However, we understand that the National Police must continue its preparation in order to take up more difficult threats to security, especially with respect to civil disturbances and the handling of the resurgence of armed groups.

We reiterate that resolution 1473 (2003) is a great contribution in terms of training for the police, especially when it comes to human rights, the rule of law, the development of rapid deployment groups and the maintenance of a greater presence in the districts. There is no doubt that all this will lead to greater professionalism, effectiveness and responsibility for the police force in that country.

Likewise, after reviewing the military strategies set out in the report, we feel that they are relevant and realistic and will make it possible to achieve concrete progress within the framework of the country's security. In this context, we urge UNMISET to continue to firmly support Falintil-FDTL in order to help it overcome its current limitations — that is, its reduced numbers, the lack of presence in the western sectors of the territory and the need to improve its mobility by air and by land, among others.

We greatly value the assistance provided by UNMISET in the area of human rights. We also value the assistance given through the Serious Crimes Unit in seeking to clear up the crimes committed in 1999. That has led to the submission of 60 charges against 247 people. However, we know that the development of this judicial process will require more external assistance in order to complete the process. In this respect, we would like to point out that it is indispensable that Indonesia's cooperation be improved in order to prosecute the accused. We urge the parties to continue working closely and in a true spirit of cooperation.

Our own experience as a country has taught us that only with truth and justice will it be possible to continue building together and to overcome the difficulties of the past. Likewise, we acknowledge the need to improve the operation of the judicial system in Timor-Leste, and we welcome the valuable contribution made by UNMISET in this area.

The integration efforts by the Government of Timor-Leste with the States in the region are very positive. We note its recent joining of the Movement of

Non-Aligned Countries, as well as its admission into the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific last 30 April. We greatly appreciate the agreements on oil resources signed with Australia in March and the beginning of this month. This is particularly important, because we know that in order to achieve true stability Timor-Leste requires economic development, which will enable it to overcome poverty, generate jobs, improve the population's well-being and achieve greater socio-economic success.

We share the view that, although very important progress has been made, the assistance of the international community is crucial in order to take up yet-unresolved complex problems. In this context, we agree that it is advisable to extend UNMISET's mandate for another year — that is, until 20 May 2004. That mandate should be established with clear and specific tasks in order to ensure a proper and stable transition for the well-being of the people of Timor-Leste.

Lastly, we would like to express our gratitude to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Timor-Leste and to his team. We would also like to express our gratitude and appreciation for the efforts made by the Government of Timor-Leste, led by President Xanana Gusmão and the valuable support provided by countries of the region to this country, which is taking its first steps as an independent nation.

Mr. Diallo (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): Mr. President, allow me to thank Mr. Kamalesh Sharma, Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Timor-Leste and head of mission, for introducing the report under consideration and for the useful information he has given us.

My delegation, in agreeing to the establishment of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET), had clearly pointed out that developments in the situation and experience in the field would be highly instructive for us regarding possible additional action by the international community. Consideration of the special report of the Secretary-General of 10 March allowed us to voice our concern regarding the difficulties and threats which continue to block security, stability and the development of Timor-Leste.

The adoption of resolution 1473 (2003) and the submission of the report under consideration thus are results of the Council's concern and willingness to take specific measures to avoid jeopardizing gains that have been achieved barely one year after independence.

In considering the report before us, my delegation is still concerned about the difficulties linked to the strengthening of political, administrative, security and judicial institutions. However, we appreciate the efforts made by the authorities to ensure a broad diversity of views in political debate, as well as in the promotion of administration and justice in the service of all.

We are gratified by positive developments in the relationship between Timor-Leste and its neighbours, in particular Indonesia, and urge them to give pride of place to dialogue and cooperation for peace, security and the stability of the region. We encourage the authorities of Timor-Leste to pursue their initiatives at integration in international, regional and subregional organizations and institutions. Moreover, we hail the commendable contribution of the United Nations to carrying out the objectives set down in the plan for the implementation of UNMISET's mandate, and we appreciate consultations that have taken place with the Government, the population of Timor-Leste and the donors to work for the implementation of these goals.

We are encouraged by the fact that the strategic plan described in paragraph 16 of the report is being elaborated; we hope that it will make it possible effectively to facilitate the progressive replacement of civil advisers with nationals.

My delegation notes that implementation of Programme I, on stability, democracy and justice, continues to be hampered by several factors the resolution of which requires bilateral and multilateral assistance. We support the creation of the Office of the Provedor for Human Rights and Justice and proposals aimed at strengthening justice.

In addition, we believe that Programme II, on internal security and law enforcement, requires more thorough training of the National Police of Timor-Leste (PNTL) to enable it better to shoulder the various responsibilities assigned to it. We welcome the actions undertaken by the Government in cooperation with the United Nations and the donor community to strengthen the institutional capacity of the PNTL.

My delegation welcomes the support that the military component of UNMISET is continuing to provide for the strengthening of the external security and the territorial integrity of Timor-Leste, under

Programme III, on external security and border control. We share the observations and recommendations of the Secretary-General on this issue, in particular his assessment that international military capability will be essential in the coming months to promote security in the area of the Tactical Coordination Line and to provide a short-term response to the threats posed by armed groups.

With respect to the role of the United Nations, my delegation deplores the slow pace of economic activity, which has been hindered mainly by the continued reduction of the international presence and by the still relatively unpredictable security situation. We encourage the continuation of actions by UNMISET, the agencies, funds and programmes of the United Nations, the World Bank and Member States, in cooperation with civil society and the private sector, to strengthen economic activity.

In order to meet the numerous challenges intrinsic to laying the foundations of a viable State in Timor-Leste, the commitment of the international community is completely indispensable in complementing the efforts made by the people of Timor-Leste themselves. We especially call on donors to support the fundamental sectors, including those of defence, police, administration and justice. That will undoubtedly contribute to the establishment of peace, security and stability, which are fundamental to a country's sustainable development.

My delegation hopes that the General Assembly will consider positively the revised draft budget of UNMISET for the period 1 July 2003 to 30 June 2004, which will be submitted to the Assembly during its fifty-eighth session.

My delegation supports the observations and recommendations made by the Secretary-General and the proposal to renew UNMISET's mandate for an additional year ending 20 May 2004 so that actions begun can be successfully completed.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to renew its full support for the efforts made by UNMISET, under the dynamic leadership of Ambassador Kamalesh Sharma, for the strengthening of internal stability and the development of Timor-Leste.

Mr. Tafrov (Bulgaria) (*spoke in French*): I thank the Secretary-General for his 21 April report on the situation in Timor-Leste (S/2003/449) and thank his Special Representative for that country, Mr. Kamalesh Sharma, whom I welcome here at the Council table. I thank him for his work at the head of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET).

After reading the Secretary-General's report, we are more convinced than ever that the Council must remain engaged in the situation in Timor-Leste. Bulgaria agrees with the report's conclusion that in adopting resolution 1473 (2003), the Council showed that it was determined to provide the support required for the long-term success of Timor-Leste.

My delegation hopes that modifications to UNMISET's withdrawal strategy will ensure a more effective and more rapid training of the National Police of East Timor. However, we must point out that the stability and security of East Timor must be considered within a broader context. The establishment of an effective judicial system, the development of local legislation in accordance with international human rights standards, the judicial process for serious crimes committed in 1999, the establishment of a non-politicized administration and the reintegration into society of former combatants are among the necessary priorities enabling the strengthening of State institutions, stability and democratic development in the young country.

Bulgaria fully appreciates the efforts of President Xanana Gusmão to promote a national dialogue and to set up commissions to identify former combatants and to integrate them into the society of Timor-Leste.

Bulgaria also welcomes the Government of Timor-Leste's ratification of six core international human rights treaties and four optional protocols. Bulgaria supports the appeal of the Secretary-General to States in whose territory are found individuals accused of committing serious crimes in Timor-Leste in 1999 to help bring those individuals to justice as quickly as possible.

We call upon the Governments of Indonesia and Timor-Leste to spare no efforts to support the work of the technical group for demarcation and regulation of the border, as bilateral relations between the two neighbouring countries are of great importance for the future of the young State of Timor-Leste.

The bilateral and multilateral support of the international community is, of course, crucial to the

economic and social development of Timor-Leste. Mr. Sharma has spoken in an interesting way of the economic prospects for Timor-Leste and of the importance of the continued commitment of the international community. UNMISET and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) have an important role to play in developing a strategic plan outlining the areas in which bilateral assistance is essential. As I said earlier, Bulgaria is currently preparing a programme to assist the nascent armed forces of Timor-Leste with military equipment.

To conclude, I would like to say that my delegation supports the Secretary-General's recommendation that the mandate of UNMISET be renewed. I call the attention of Council members to the importance of continued commitment from the international community and the donor community to this young country with a nascent democracy.

Mr. Belinga-Eboutou (Cameroon) (*spoke in French*): Cameroon would like to thank and congratulate the Secretary-General for his report of 21 April 2003 on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) (S/2003/449).

My delegation welcomes the presence among us of Ambassador Kamalesh Sharma and is grateful for the clear, concise and thorough briefing that he has given the Council on the situation in Timor-Leste.

We are closely following the developments taking place in that young State, which despite some setbacks — some of which were serious — remains an example of success for United Nations action in the areas of peacekeeping, security and post-conflict management. It is gratifying to note that, after the events that took place in Dili and the Ermera District in December and January 2002, which gave us cause to fear the worst, the situation has returned to normality.

Given the events described in the report before us, political and administrative problems, internal and external security and the reconstruction and financing of the economy are all issues that require the vigilance, commitment and support of the United Nations and the international community.

By declaring 2003 as the Year of Administrative Restructuring and Justice, the Government of Timor-Leste has clearly charted the course the followed. The strengthening of human and institutional capacity, particularly in the area of administration and justice, is the most urgent challenge facing the Timorese authorities.

Minister Ramos-Horta was fully justified last week in deploring the chronic lack of resources for financing employment and essential public services. He forcefully emphasized that unemployment and a weak administrative and judicial infrastructure were at the root of the main problems currently faced by Timor-Leste.

It is clear that the sharp decline in the civilian component of UNMISET has further highlighted the institutional and personnel needs of the country. The Government's recruitment and training campaign must therefore be encouraged. In this regard the Administration should be called on to demonstrate its transparency and objectivity with a view to ensuring that it retains the apolitical character that is so necessary.

The lack of resources and the weakness of the judicial structure, which is very inadequately staffed — inadequate in terms of quantity and quality — are cause for real concern in a country in which the citizens need to be reassured on issues of justice. The report states that that drastic lack of personnel has been reflected in delays in the administration of justice, prolonged periods of pre-trial detention and prison overcrowding, with all the problems that they involve.

I would like to echo the concerns expressed by human rights organizations with regard to the management of the file of serious crimes perpetrated in 1999, in both Timor-Leste and Indonesia. It is imperative that both countries strengthen their cooperation on this issue with a view to resolving it, as it is of great importance for the citizens of Timor-Leste as well as for the international community.

The Special Representative and head of UNMISET, and his office in Jakarta, should make further efforts in particular to induce Indonesia to send more positive signals in two important areas: the extradition to Timor-Leste of persons against whom there are charges, and the expansion, at the national level, of the field of action of the relevant ad hoc tribunal. Furthermore, the Security Council should begin to give some thought to how to ensure follow-up of this very important issue when UNMISET's mandate ends next year.

With regard to internal and external security, my country reiterates its support for the approach of UNMISET and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations enshrined by the Council in resolution 1473 (2003).

We therefore subscribe to all of the report's proposals in this area, and we would like in particular to encourage the Government of Timor-Leste to continue to cooperate with Indonesia with a view to better discharging its new security responsibilities in the area of the Tactical Coordination Line.

The political and institutional stability of Timor-Leste will depend upon the rapid economic and social development of the country. Combating poverty must therefore be the highest priority, not only for the Government of Timor-Leste but for the United Nations and the international community. To that end, the so-called Transition Support Programme should be better supported by the donor community.

Certain recent developments are cause for optimism. One such is the ratification of the Timor Sea Treaty, which opens the way for the exploitation of gas and oil, guaranteeing significant revenue for Timor-Leste, which should serve as an impetus for economic growth. This is also true of the implementation, with the support of the United Nations Development Programme, of the Recovery, Employment and Stability Programme for Ex-Combatants and Communities in Timor-Leste (RESPECT), which is designed to ensure the reintegration of former combatants, as well as to provide assistance for vulnerable segments of the population.

While the real political, economic and social difficulties facing this young democracy cannot be hidden, there are good reasons for optimism regarding its future, as long as the United Nations, the financial institutions and bilateral partners continue to step up their support for the country. Cameroon therefore endorses the recommendation of the Secretary-General that the mandate of UNMISET be renewed for one year.

I should like in conclusion to express my country's appreciation for all the elements of UNMISET and to the head of the Mission, Ambassador Sharma, for the outstanding work that they, together with the young Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, have accomplished since 20 May 2002. They have been able to mobilize their many relationships and contacts in the international economic and financial field in the service of the people of that country.

Mr. Chen Xu (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I should like at the outset to thank the Secretary-General for his report, as well as Ambassador Sharma, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for his briefing.

The general situation in East Timor is encouraging. Under the leadership of the Government of Timor-Leste, and with the active support of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET), the people of Timor-Leste have, since independence, been pursuing the task of nation-building in all its aspects in a steady and orderly manner. The administrative and judicial systems are gradually moving towards institutionalization. The national defence force and the National Police have been intensifying their preparations for fulfilling their responsibilities for defending national peace and stability.

Timor-Leste is integrating itself into the international community. It has continued to develop its relations with Indonesia and other countries in the region.

We are pleased to see what has been achieved by the Timorese Government and people. However, given the situation in the country, we cannot let our guard down. Not long ago, following a series of armed and violent incidents, the security situation deteriorated, giving rise to concern on the part of the international community and of the Security Council. For that reason, the Council adopted resolution 1473 (2003) and adjusted UNMISET's downsizing plan.

As the Secretary-General pointed out in paragraph 64 of his report,

> "By adopting resolution 1473 (2003), the Security Council showed that it remains determined to provide the support required for the long-term success of Timor-Leste."

We have noted the considerable efforts deployed by UNMISET in helping Timor-Leste to enhance its public administration capacities and to finalize the establishment of its judicial system. It has made progress in dealing with the threat posed by armed groups and has gradually created conditions for the national defence force and National Police to take over fully defence and policing matters.

The Chinese delegation commends UNMISET and Ambassador Sharma for their achievements in helping the Government to carry out its work. We endorse the Secretary-General's recommendation, contained in his report, to extend UNMISET's mandate.

Timor-Leste continues to confront various difficulties and challenges in its endeavours to ensure national security and stability and in promoting economic and social development. We endorse the Secretary-General's observation that nation-building efforts in Timor-Leste will require the assistance of the international community, in particular the donor countries, the United Nations system and international financial institutions.

China will, as always, lend its strong support to the Timorese people in their efforts to maintain national stability and to build their country, and will continue to support the work of Ambassador Sharma and of UNMISET. China will continue to provide assistance to the extent of its capabilities.

Mr. Gaspar Martins (Angola): Mr. President, I would like at the outset to thank you for convening this meeting on the situation in Timor-Leste.

My delegation welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on the activities of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) (S/2003/449), as well as the briefing presented to us this afternoon by our good friend Ambassador Kamalesh Sharma. I should like to reiterate our full confidence in the outstanding work he is doing; I am sure that this is what Timor-Leste and its people deserve.

We welcome the significant progress achieved in several areas as regards the implementation of Security Council resolution 1473 (2003). I wish to join previous speakers in expressing appreciation for the positive changes that have taken place, particularly in the field of security.

We are particularly pleased at the progress made in the field of public administration, in the functioning of Timor-Leste's justice system, in the conduct of investigations of serious crimes and in the role of the National Police. We wish to express our appreciation for the crucial role played by the advisers in the UNMISET Civilian Support Group in transferring knowledge and skills to Timor-Leste counterparts, which are important in providing support for the process of achieving stability in Timor-Leste.

We would like to underline the continuing efforts of the Timorese Government to improve the situation with regard to peace and stability in the country by engaging in a broad political debate throughout all sectors of Timorese society. The communities themselves have a critical responsibility in this regard.

Resolution 1473 (2003), adopted by the Security Council on 4 April 2003, requests the Secretary-General to provide a detailed military strategy for the revised schedule for the downsizing of the military component of UNMISET. My delegation takes note of the specific measures for the adjustment strategy proposed by the Secretary-General in his report. We believe that such a strategy provides an appropriate baseline for the full and effective implementation of Security Council resolution 1473 (2003).

We support the continuing efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, namely in the following areas: the provision of additional training capacities in key areas such as public administration and justice; the strengthening of human rights and the rule of law; and a monitoring and advisory presence in districts where policing authority has been handed over to the Timor-Leste Police Force.

It is important that UNMISET, in order to deal with the limitations of Timor-Leste's police capabilities, address the recent security incidents, which made clear the fact that law enforcement will continue to be a real challenge for the country which will require vigorous and sustained efforts.

My delegation supports the extension of UNMISET's mandate for a further year, until 20 May 2004, and, in this context, we deem extremely important the additional commitment that the international community needs to make towards Timor-Leste. This is vital if we want to safeguard the great political and human investment made so far in this country in the context of this peace process, which we can consider a joint success story for the people of Timor-Leste and the international community.

We join the appeal by the Secretary-General for bilateral support to supplement the efforts of UNMISETin order to guarantee a sustainable and efficient administration and a viable economy. The relevant agencies of the United Nations must therefore

closely coordinate their efforts with those of the international community of donors in order to consolidate peace in Timor-Leste.

In conclusion, we welcome the increasing cooperation between the authorities of Timor-Leste and of Indonesia. This spirit of cooperation between both countries was demonstrated by the discussions on border demarcation and in investigations of serious crimes. We encourage Timor-Leste and Indonesia to develop friendly and neighbourly relations, in order to strengthen security in the region.

Finally, we reiterate our confidence and friendship to the Government and to the fraternal people of Timor-Leste.

Mr. Mekdad (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): Allow me at the outset to thank the Secretary-General most sincerely for having submitted his report on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET).

We welcome Mr. Kamalesh Sharma, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and head of UNMISET. We thank him for having introduced and exhaustively summarized the report. We also welcome the Permanent Representative of Timor-Leste to the United Nations.

The essential role of the international community in ensuring independence and peace in Timor-Leste makes the Security Council's responsibility a dual and particularly onerous one. The efforts to consolidate Timor-Leste's independence demonstrate that those made to ensure security, development and progress there, despite all the obstacles, are indeed succeeding.

The Secretary-General's report of 3 March highlighted those obstacles, in particular a series of incidents affecting security that were most alarming and which led to adjustments to the downsizing plan for UNMISET to allow the Mission to accomplish its mandated tasks within this changed environment. The Security Council assumed its responsibilities in unanimously adopting resolution 1473 (2003), by which it established measures to adjust the downsizing of the Mission's police component and supported a revised schedule for the downsizing of the military component. In so doing, the Council showed its resolve to continue to provide all necessary assistance for the success and long-term development of Timor-Leste. My delegation therefore supports the Secretary-General's recommendation that the mandate of UNMISET be extended for a further year, until 20 May 2004.

The developments in the political situation in Timor-Leste, as described in the report, reflect developments at all levels, in particular those in its relationship with Indonesia, which is based on the political commitment of the two parties. It deserves our support and admiration. We hope that these positive developments will continue, leading to the settlement of all outstanding issues between the two parties.

Finally, I should like to reiterate the importance of providing the financial resources necessary to ensure the economic and political development of Timor-Leste. Such resources will be based on the generosity of the donors. We believe that the country status report on the Millennium Development Goals that Timor-Leste is to submit to the United Nations during its celebration of independence in May will allow the international community and the donor community to continue to help that country consolidate progress and development.

Mrs. D'Achon (France) (*spoke in French*): I, too, wish to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Kamalesh Sharma, for introducing the Secretary-General's report.

The report is encouraging. It takes note of progress achieved by the Timor-Leste authorities in their gradual assumption of police and military competencies. It also emphasizes the positive developments in Timor-Leste's political institutions and context, as well as the noticeable improvement in its relations with Indonesia. This is clearly to be welcomed. My delegation hopes that the United Nations will continue to support the efforts of those two countries to stabilize their relationship, inter alia, in cooperating on investigations into the crimes perpetrated in 1999.

The remaining challenges, however, are numerous. The strengthening of the capacities of the police, as emphasized by Ambassador Sharma, is a priority for the future, as it will determine the enduring stability of Timor-Leste. The training of security groups in villages seems in this respect to be an interesting initiative. The police and the army will, inter alia, have to learn to work together. Finally, the

judicial sector remains insufficiently developed, thus hampering the administration of justice.

Regarding the Secretary-General's recommendations, my delegation supports the military strategy and the schedule for a reasonable downsizing of troops presented in the report, as well as an extension of the mandate of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) for a further year.

The report provides clarifications regarding the geographical deployment of police and military personnel. I should like to ask the Special Representative, however, for further clarifications with respect to the specific division of competencies in internal security. I would ask him in particular to define the conditions for the Government of Timor-Leste's conscription for its peacekeeping force in the maintenance of order.

In conclusion, I wish to look to the future. The agreed timetable provides for a withdrawal of UNMISET in May 2004. As we approach that date, the issue of the modalities of the international community's involvement beyond the Mission's mandate will impose itself with increasing urgency. If we wish to ensure Timor-Leste's development, it is obvious that bilateral and multilateral donors, as well as the actors of the United Nations system, will have to remain present in some form or another and work together. As the Secretary-General says in his report, reflection on this subject is already under way. That seems to us to be both useful and necessary in better coordinating the efforts of all those playing a role in the field.

Mr. Khalid (Pakistan): I wish to welcome Ambassador Sharma to the Council and thank him for his comprehensive briefing on the situation in Timor-Leste.

While we are happy to note significant progress made by Timor-Leste in certain key areas, we should also remain mindful of the serious challenges involved. This year did not begin very auspiciously for Timor-Leste, marred as it was by a series of disturbances. However, we are glad to note that the situation has improved since then. The internal security situation, as the Secretary-General's report indicates, is but one of many problems which that newly independent country currently faces.

In our view, the biggest challenge before Timor-Leste is its economic future. The Secretary-General's report points out that "Timor-Leste remains the poorest country in South-east Asia" (*S/2003/449, para. 52*). It therefore needs continued and sustained assistance from the international community to promote economic development.

Pakistan welcomes the signing of the Timor Sea Treaty and the International Unitisation Agreement on the Greater Sunrise field, which will allow Timor-Leste to take advantage of significant oil and gas revenues. We also welcome Timor-Leste's admission, last Friday, to the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific as another step in the right direction. Nevertheless, much more help is needed immediately to allow this country, at least economically, to stand on its own feet.

International assistance is required also in the area of security. We are concerned to learn, through the Secretary-General's report, that to date Timor-Leste has not been able to make further enhancements to defence and security through bilateral arrangements. Similarly, the report also mentions shortfalls and resource constraints on matters relating to the internal security and justice sectors. The international community must step in to fill the gap.

The Security Council took the correct decision earlier this month when it unanimously adopted resolution 1473 (2003). Through that resolution, the drawdown of UNMISET was frozen and the necessary adjustments to its composition were made. That enabled UNMISET to appropriately address the internal security challenges prevailing at the time as well as to build the capacity of the National Police of Timor-Leste to effectively respond to such situations. We hope the Council can maintain this kind of political flexibility and operational decisiveness in the future. Needless to say, Pakistan fully supports the extension of the mandate of UNMISET for another 12-month period. As Pakistan has often repeated, there must be no exit in any peacekeeping mission without completing the task.

Pakistan believes that the development of close and friendly relations between Timor-Leste and Indonesia is of utmost importance. Indeed, this is in the interest of both countries and the region as a whole. We welcome in this regard the commitment by the Government of Timor-Leste to work with the

Indonesian authorities on various issues, especially border security and control matters. We call on both sides to work together to resolve any outstanding problems, including transitional justice issues, and to strengthen regional cooperation. Such cooperation can be an example for other regions as well.

A lot has been achieved in Timor-Leste but still more work is required to consolidate the gains made thus far. The United Nations and the international community must continue to utilize all necessary means in that regard. Indeed, Timor-Leste is a success story for the United Nations for more than one reason. It is also an example of how the principle of self-determination was successfully implemented by the United Nations. There are other parts of the world, especially Jammu and Kashmir, that await the exercise of the right of self-determination promised to them by the Security Council.

Mr. Komizin (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We are grateful to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kamalesh Sharma, for his briefing on the most recent events in Timor-Leste and also for his introduction of the report of the Secretary-General (S/2003/449), which objectively considers the work done by the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) during the reporting period in implementing its mandate, and which accurately describes the problems of the establishment of statehood for Timor-Leste.

We share concern regarding a certain exacerbation of the security situation in Timor-Leste. The serious civil disorder provoked by extremists in Dili last December and the recent stepping up of diversionary activities of armed groups and former militia members are extremely alarming. In this situation, UNMISET personnel and the Timor-Leste authorities must intensify their joint efforts to neutralize such threats. It is our hope that the revised programme and timetable approved by the Security Council for the drawdown of the police and military components of the Mission will enable the Mission, before the transfer of full responsibility for the maintenance of security to the national army and police, to more effectively provide conditions that would rule out destabilization of the young State and the undermining of its independence.

Extremely important for the establishment of a viable, independent State is the establishment and the strengthening of a national army and the National Police of Timor-Leste. Here we welcome UNMISET's efforts to prepare and train the military and police forces of the country. We also welcome the expansion of the area of responsibility of the army and police forces now being formed in Timor-Leste. This is taking place according to schedule and without serious complications. We take note of the progress of the establishment of a Timor-Leste State administration. A good deal of credit must go to the UNMISET Civilian Support Group, as its staff members are undertaking significant efforts to share knowledge and experience with their Timorese colleagues and are giving effective assistance to the Government in ensuring the functioning of ministries and agencies.

Assistance for the social and economic development of Timor-Leste from multilateral and bilateral donors is vital for the long-term stability of the country. Here, the Russian Federation emphasizes the need for the intensified donor support for the Government of Timor-Leste in its efforts to achieve the fundamental objectives of the National Development Plan.

We welcome the positive changes in the relationship between Timor-Leste and Indonesia, particularly regarding the important question of demarcation and regulation of the common border. The establishment and maintenance of good-neighbourly, mutually beneficial relations with neighbouring countries is a prerequisite for the successful establishment and development of the young State of Timor-Leste. We support the extension of the UNMISET mandate for one more year, until 20 May 2004.

In conclusion, we would like to wish the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kamalesh Sharma, and all the personnel of UNMISET further success in implementing their mandate.

Mr. Williamson (United States of America): I thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sharma, for his report. The United States is pleased that the predicted increase in violence in Timor-Leste has not materialized. We applaud the helpful role played by Indonesia. We encourage Timor-Leste and Indonesia to finalize their border by the targeted date.

We strongly support the adjustments to the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET)

approved by the Security Council, including strengthening the capacity of the Timor-Leste police force. The liquidation task force, under Special Representative Sharma, demonstrates good planning. We support the final 12-month extension for UNMISET.

Mr. Pleuger (Germany): I should like to join other delegations in thanking the Secretary-General for his latest report on the situation in Timor-Leste (S/2003/449) and to thank Ambassador Sharma and his staff for the excellent work that they have done thus far. I should also like to pay tribute to the people of Timor-Leste and their representatives for their continuous successful endeavours as they build up their young democracy.

Germany appreciates the increased stabilization of the security environment in Timor-Leste. In that regard, we welcome the downsizing of the personnel of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET), in accordance with Security Council resolution 1473 (2003), and the strengthening of the National Police, as well as the idea of a common border patrol between Indonesia and Timor-Leste.

Planning a gradual transfer of policing authority to the Timor-Leste police force, as envisaged in resolution 1473 (2003), remains one of our main targets in paving the way for a democratic Timor-Leste, independent of international assistance. Germany therefore welcomes the handing over of routine police tasks to the Timorese police as well as the enhancement of its capabilities to deal with crowd control and with the challenges potentially posed by armed groups. We encourage the parties to continue the process of smooth but steady transfer of responsibilities. The internationally formed police unit — as envisaged by resolution 1473 (2003) — will be used to address urgent needs alongside the competences already gained by the police of Timor-Leste so that the police force has adequate time to develop.

We also support the actors involved in strengthening the country's political and administrative institutions in order to proceed with the establishment of a viable independent State. In that regard, we should like to point to the importance of an adequate judicial system, and we urge focus on that issue in order to guarantee free and fair trials and to promote the rule of law as an essential element of the new democracy.

Having listened attentively to the Special Representative, I believe that the major task clearly remains the country's economic and social development. Every possible effort is needed to achieve an upturn in the economy in order to promote the population's economic and social well-being — an important prerequisite for the future political stability of the country. Here, the continued assistance of the international community remains essential.

To accomplish these remaining tasks, we therefore fully agree with the Secretary-General's proposal to extend UNMISET's mandate for another year. We shall continue to promote further bilateral support alongside and after the Mission's contribution. The story of Timor-Leste is our common success story and therefore deserves our common support.

Mr. Thomson (United Kingdom): Our thanks to Mr. Sharma, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and his team for all their work.

Timor-Leste's international environment is important to its future, and the United Kingdom encourages Indonesia and Timor-Leste to continue working together towards agreement on border delineation by the 30 June 2003 deadline. That target has been described by Ambassador Sharma as "challenging".

The economic and social prospects of the country are also clearly crucial. Timor-Leste's economic future looks brighter with the ratification of the Timor Sea Treaty and its potential revenue streams. But no less important is the development of the quality of government in Timor-Leste itself.

We salute the progress made so far by the Government of Timor-Leste, but I should like to focus my remarks on the justice and police and security sectors. We welcome the publication of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) report on the justice sector. We see a pressing need to identify priorities for future UNDP assistance to the judicial system and to decide on next steps in preparation of the three- to five-year technical assistance programme. So we look forward to early finalization of the justice sector support programme, and we would welcome Special Representative Sharma's giving us an indication of its expected completion date.

With regard to the police, we welcome Timorese ownership of the process of developing the country's

police force and the role of Prime Minister Alkatiri and of other senior ministers at the police workshop this month. We hope that a resolution of all outstanding issues can be achieved at the next workshop, in June.

We encourage full implementation of the recommendations in the joint assessment mission report, and we urge careful consideration of the sustainability of the Timorese rapid deployment group and of other specialist police groups, given the finite budget available.

We support the Secretary-General's recommendation of increased cooperation between the Timorese police and defence forces, and we encourage the adoption of clear definitions of responsibility for both organizations. We believe that the formation of unofficial village-based security groups could seriously undermine, rather than help, the security situation. We urge that they be disbanded.

The United Kingdom believes that there is now a need to focus UNMISET policing efforts on capacity-building in the Timorese police — a point made by earlier speakers — and we believe that donors must remain receptive to long-term support of the policing sector. My Government is ready to do its part in that respect.

The United Kingdom supports the proposed revised military strategy and the extension of UNMISET's mandate for 12 months. It will be important for UNMISET to keep up the momentum so that the Mission may indeed conclude successfully in 2004.

Finally, the United Kingdom recognizes that, even after UNMISET has concluded its mandate, the international donor community will have to provide much support to Timor-Leste. The United Kingdom will play its part in that and urges other donors to do likewise. There must be no hiatus in the progress being made with the international community's support in Timor-Leste when UNMISET closes. So we very much agree with Special Representative Sharma that the Council must begin to think through with UNMISET the next stage in Timor-Leste's development so that the transition is smooth. We look forward to Ambassador Sharma's promised report and proposals to the Security Council on those issues.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I shall now take the floor in my capacity as representative of Mexico.

My delegation wishes to thank Mr. Sharma, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Timor-Leste, and the Secretary-General himself for the information provided to the Security Council and for the report before us (S/2003/449). The report relates the positive development of the situation in Timor-Leste but also reminds the international community and the Council that we must remain attentive to developments in the situation on the ground.

On 4 April, Mexico supported the adoption of resolution 1473 (2003), which calls for an adjustment of the downsizing of the military and police components of UNMISET and reaffirms the Security Council's commitment to continue supporting security and stability efforts in Timor-Leste.

United Nations reconstruction efforts in Timor-Leste provide us with valuable lessons and make it possible to draw conclusions and experiences that could be used in other situations requiring the building of a new State or support for rebuilding institutions.

As we have seen in the case of Timor-Leste, the international community's determination to support the building of a State is not sufficient if it is not accompanied by the necessary internal commitment on the part of all political forces and sectors of society. For this reason, the Government of Mexico welcomes the initiative undertaken on 25 January by President Gusmão to carry out a national dialogue with the various political forces in the country. We believe that it is only through dialogue and understanding that we can lay solid foundations for a true democratic and inclusive society in Timor-Leste. Likewise, friendly and good-neighbourly relations are paramount.

Globalization and interdependence mean that a country's development is closely linked to that of its neighbours. Thus, Mexico welcomes and supports the efforts made by Indonesia and by Australia to achieve border demarcation and regulation agreements, including commercial operations.

The Government of Mexico would like to express its gratitude to Mr. Sharma and to his team for the progress made thus far in discharging the mandate entrusted to them. This has led to the development of the ability of the Government and people of

Timor-Leste to manage their own destiny. It is necessary to continue to work to remove shortcomings and to strengthen national capabilities. United Nations participation in this process is essential. The strategic plan that is being developed by the Government of Timor-Leste and by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is a step in that direction.

Additional efforts will be required to strengthen the justice system. A greater number of trained judges and greater access to courts for the entire population are steps that could be taken to improve the situation in the immediate future. Reconciliation and peace depend to a large degree on a transparent and effective justice system.

Timor-Leste also requires continual strengthening of its institutional processes. Thus, Mexico joins in the Secretary-General's appeal to the international donor community to continue supporting programmes for strengthening the National Police and the judicial system.

As for internal security, the report reflects, as did resolution 1473 (2003), the importance of developing national capabilities and proper preparation for the defence forces and for the National Police. Mexico stresses the importance of training police in the area of human rights. In building a State, the population's confidence in law enforcement institutions is vital. The promulgation of a code of conduct for the police has thus been an important measure in that direction.

As for external security and border control, proper coordination between the United Nations forces and the Governments of Timor-Leste and Indonesia is crucial. We urge both countries to continue strengthening their cooperation in those areas.

On previous occasions, Mexico has referred to the importance of assisting with the economic and social development of Timor-Leste, as a fundamental element of peace-building. My country therefore views as highly positive the report's information on the work of United Nations agencies and programmes for infrastructure rehabilitation and national development.

With a view to reaffirming its commitment to Timor-Leste, Mexico supports the proposal of the Secretary-General to extend the UNMISET mandate for another year, until 20 May 2004.

On behalf of the Government and people of Mexico, I would like to join the others in expressing our gratitude to the civilian, military and police components of UNMISET, who have done excellent work in Timor-Leste. I would ask Ambassador Sharma to convey Mexico's greetings and its appreciation for the work that his team has carried out.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

The next speaker is the representative of Timor-Leste. I welcome him and give him the floor.

Mr. Guterres (Timor-Leste): Sir, my Government congratulates you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We thank you and the other members of the Council for convening this open meeting and for the opportunity to speak today.

My delegation acknowledges the presence of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kamalesh Sharma, whose leadership and advice have been invaluable at every level.

Timor-Leste would like to commend the Secretary-General on his comprehensive report (S/2003/449) on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET). We thank him for his continued commitment to ensuring that the intent and goals of the relevant Security Council resolutions are accomplished.

Timor-Leste continues to appreciate the wisdom that Security Council members showed in having resolution 1410 (2002) provide for a constant reassessment of security needs. Accordingly, we thank all members for their unanimous decision last month on resolution 1473 (2003), which adjusted the downsizing schedule.

The violence of December of last year and the terrorist activities in the border area in January of this year created some fears about future security. However, the firm and transparent response by the United Nations and the Government of Timor-Leste has provided reassurance and has reasserted confidence and stability.

The mission of UNMISET has been and continues to be effective. Much progress has been made in the capacity-building of the Timorese police and military. In that regard, we would like to say at the outset that Timor-Leste fully endorses the Secretary-General's present recommendation that the mandate of

UNMISET be extended for a further year, until 20 May 2004.

We continue to strive for responsible governance and the furtherance of democratic institutions and traditions of pluralism that are necessary for a secure and stable democracy. On 16 April 2003, Timor-Leste deposited with the Secretary-General its instruments of accession to seven multilateral treaties or protocols relating to human rights. Our Parliament has also ratified the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons plus other treaties concerning weapons of mass destruction, the instruments of ratification of all of which will be deposited in the coming days.

The recent appointment of the President of the Appeals Court by President Gusmão was a step forward in the strengthening of our justice sector. The Government is fully committed to building a robust and independent judiciary. However, this sector continues to require support from the international community.

The work of the Serious Crimes Unit continues without any interference from other institutions. The Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation continues its work and expects to complete its duties next year.

The Government recognizes that a stable political and social environment cannot be sustained without addressing the basic needs of our people. In less than a year, the Government, with help from the international community, has had to address decisively many challenges in the sectors of human development, natural resources and the environment, infrastructure and private sector development, defence and security, and regional development and poverty reduction.

We have inherited a country with a per capita income of less than $400, an infant mortality rate of 80 to 145 per 1,000 live births, a maternal mortality rate of 400 to 800 per 100,000 live births, and a 20 per cent unemployment rate. It is a country in which 80 per cent of infrastructure was destroyed in September 1999.

While the development of human resources is a great investment for the medium and long terms, efforts are also being made in the areas of agriculture, fisheries and tourism. The majority of the Timorese live in rural areas.

The agriculture sector represents approximately 21 per cent of the gross domestic product. It employs approximately 74 per cent of the labour force, but it has the lowest productivity rate in the region. The Ministry of Agriculture, with the help of various countries, has focused its attention on improving the irrigation system and providing help in reducing food insecurity, which affects 20 per cent of the rural population, and has taken the initial steps to create conditions for the transition from subsistence to export- and industry-oriented agriculture and fisheries.

Timor-Leste shares the Secretary-General's appeal for full support from the international community. As his report has emphasized, the role of bilateral contributions and other assistance will continue to be of great importance. For example, Timor-Leste deems crucial the provision of the full number of 228 development advisers. It is critical that the pace of capacity-building be maintained.

As noted in the report, Falintil-FDTL is indeed making steady progress. By the end of this year, two infantry battalions will be operational. But the provision of decent infrastructure to those battalions remains to be fully achieved, and further bilateral cooperation in those areas continues to be most welcome.

In addition to focusing on our internal development, we are committed to engagements with our neighbours and the international community. We hope that Timor-Leste will soon be admitted to the Association of South-East Asian Nations as an observer. Our relations with Indonesia and Australia are encouraging. We recently signed the Timor Sea Treaty with Australia, which will bring economic benefits to our people. Discussions on recognized international borders at sea and on land will continue. We have had significant progress with Indonesia, and we look forward to completing negotiations by 30 June of this year. We expect that the next official visit by Prime Minister Mari Alkatiri to Indonesia will bring new impetus to our cooperation.

We will continue to establish diplomatic relations with countries of the United Nations family. We hope that our recent inclusion in the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific will bring a new dynamism to economic cooperation. As our bilateral and multilateral relations continue to develop, we appeal to the donor community to remain engaged in furthering the building of our nascent democracy.

On 16 April 2003, Timor-Leste deposited with the Secretary-General ratifications of seven multilateral treaties and protocols relating to human rights.

We appreciate the prudence the Council has shown in dealing with the Timor-Leste situation, and we would like to say once again that Timor-Leste fully endorses the Secretary-General's recommendation that the mandate of UNMISET be extended for a further year, to 20 May 2004.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Australia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Dauth (Australia): I had hoped to make the shortest intervention this afternoon, but I am afraid that not even I can match the superb succinctness of the intervention of our American colleague. Nevertheless, Australia very much welcomes the Secretary-General's latest report on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (S/2003/449). We are delighted to have among us again today our friend and colleague Ambassador Sharma. We thank him and his team sincerely.

The international community continues to hold high expectations of UNMISET. As the Secretary-General's report shows, significant progress has been made towards discharging the United Nations mandate in East Timor. But it is equally clear that a good deal of important work lies ahead. How the Mission achieves its remaining goals will go a long way to defining the success of the United Nations in the historic task of supporting East Timor's emergence as a nation.

The Secretary-General's report is highly timely. We have reached a critical stage in the life of the United Nations Mission and in the United Nations role in East Timor. Now more than ever, the United Nations needs to focus on what the Mission will leave behind in terms of solid and sustainable indigenous capacity in civil administration, law and justice and defence and security. We therefore strongly support the extension of the mandate for a further 12 months. That additional time will facilitate the Mission achieving its stated objectives and intent.

In policing, a good deal of essential and basic foundational work remains to be done. We have had much discussion of this, but I think it requires further comment today. Australia is pleased that the Mission is redoubling its efforts to accelerate the development of East Timor's institutions of law enforcement. It is crucial that commitments made on paper are translated into solid and lasting progress on the ground. The Security Council's 4 April amendments to the UNMISET drawdown plan should help provide a secure backdrop for a renewed effort coordinated by the United Nations in this crucial area, and Australia stands ready to assist. A concerted effort in police force development from now until the end of the Mission will be essential to the ultimate success of the United Nations in East Timor.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Portugal. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. De Santa Clara Gomes (Portugal): Mr. President, allow me to begin by saying that it is a great pleasure to see you presiding over the Security Council. I thank you for convening this open meeting to examine the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (S/2003/449), covering its activities since the last report, dated 6 November 2002.

First, Portugal would like to extend its support to the important efforts of the United Nations in Timor-Leste under the already well-tested leadership of its Special Representative, Mr. Kamalesh Sharma. This is particularly noteworthy as political developments in Timor-Leste during the reporting period have been more complex than was initially foreseen.

Last month, the Council had to consider a special report of the Secretary-General relating a change of environment in Timor-Leste as a result of a disturbing series of security-related incidents, some of them of a terrorist nature, which took place in the last months of 2002 and the early months of 2003. At the time, the Secretary-General asked the Council to reconsider the proposed downsizing plan for UNMISET, while keeping the envisioned handover date of May 2004. Consequently, the Council approved resolution 1473 (2003), which endorsed proposals for the adjustment of the downsizing of UNMISET's police component, supported a revised schedule for the downsizing of the Mission's military component and requested a detailed military strategy for the revised schedule.

Portugal welcomes the most recent report of the Secretary-General, and it is pleased to note that, in

spite of the problems to which I referred, much has been achieved in the year that has elapsed since the establishment of UNMISET and that the Timorese public administration and police force are assuming increasing levels of responsibility.

Also to be highly commended is the steady and significant positive development in the relationship of Timor-Leste and its neighbour Indonesia, particularly regarding the determination of their joint border, as well as the progress on agreements between Australia and Timor-Leste concerning petroleum resources. One must not understate the importance that both a stable relationship with its neighbour States and prompt access to such natural resources have in paving the way for the solid and sustainable economic development of the newborn country.

Portugal would also like to note UNMISET's efforts and the progress achieved with regard to the investigation and indictment of those responsible for crimes that took place in 1999. However, it is with concern that we note that the report expects the judicial process dealing with serious crimes still to be incomplete by June 2004 and that a strong political commitment is essential, as the majority of those accused remain outside Timor-Leste — including nearly 90 per cent of those accused of crimes against humanity. We support the Secretary-General in urging the Governments of countries where those accused may be located to make every effort to ensure that such persons are brought to justice.

Finally, much remains to be done, and continued assistance by the international community will be crucial to enable Timor-Leste to face with success the serious political, practical and security challenges that lie ahead. Portugal will, as in the past, remain committed to the consolidation and development of Timor-Leste and to United Nations efforts to that effect.

I am confident that the Security Council will not hesitate to extend the mandate of UNMISET for a further year, until 20 May 2004.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Haraguchi (Japan): I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for having convened this open meeting. I also thank Ambassador Kamalesh Sharma, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for his comprehensive briefing.

The report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) (S/2003/449) provides a detailed description of the situation in Timor-Leste a year after its independence. The Government of Japan is pleased to note that much has been achieved during the past year in the fields of public administration, internal security and Timor-Leste's relationship with Indonesia, including border-control issues. However, various political and security challenges remain to be overcome. We share the Secretary-General's observation that further bilateral assistance in such areas as public administration, the judiciary, the police and national security will be necessary even after UNMISET has concluded its activities.

In this connection, recent incidents, such as riots and armed attacks, are a source of great concern for all of us. The Government of Japan welcomed Security Council resolution 1473 (2003), which was adopted to address this situation, and supports the revised strategies outlined in the report of the Secretary-General. It also supports the extension of UNMISET's mandate for one more year, until 20 May 2004, as recommended by the Secretary-General. The Japanese Government intends to take the necessary steps to enable its engineer group to continue contributing to the successful completion of the mandates of UNMISET, as well as to Timor-Leste's nation-building efforts, in line with the modified downsizing schedule.

As stressed in the resolution, improving the overall capabilities of the National Police of Timor-Leste is a key priority. We are encouraged to note that the workshop on capacity-building of the police, for which Japan was pleased to provide funding, was successfully held last week. We hope that it will contribute to implementing the recommendations of the joint assessment mission on policing.

Just one week ago, Senior Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Timor-Leste, Ms. Ramos-Horta, visited Japan and met with Foreign Minister Kawaguchi. On that occasion, Mr. Ramos-Horta emphasized that security in Timor-Leste cannot be maintained solely by training and strengthening the police force, and that it is also necessary to invite investment and create job opportunities. We could not

agree with him more strongly. Japan has been playing a major role in providing assistance for building a self-sustainable nation of Timor-Leste. We have been steadily implementing our pledge of assistance of up to $60 million over the period of three years after independence, with a focus on peace-building, as well as on reconstruction in three key areas: agriculture, infrastructure and human resource development. Above all, human resource development is of particular importance because it is the very basis of nation-building. With the aim of enhancing national stability, which is a prerequisite for development, we have already allocated $8 million for improving health conditions and reducing poverty, as well as for providing employment opportunities for ex-combatants through the Recovery, Employment and Stability Programme for Ex-Combatants and Communities in Timor-Leste (RESPECT). The Government of Japan has also recently decided to extend an additional $470,000 for the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation to facilitate national reconciliation in Timor-Leste.

Mindful of the challenges that remain in Timor-Leste, I wish to re-emphasize the importance for the leadership of Timor-Leste of being united in leading the country; for the people of Timor-Leste of participating in the nation-building effort as a matter of their own responsibility, and for the international community of continuing to extend its support. For its part, the Government of Japan will spare no effort to extend as much assistance as it can for the consolidation of peace in Timor-Leste.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Brazil. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil) (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like at the outset to thank you, Mr. President, for having convened this public meeting of the Security Council on the situation in Timor-Leste. We would also like to welcome the presence of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Kamalesh Sharma.

We often refer to Timor-Leste as a United Nations success story in general, and as a success story for this body in particular. Almost a year has gone by since the Council celebrated, in this Chamber, the independence of that country, and almost eight months have passed since Timor-Leste joined the Organization.

However, the fact that this has been a success story does not mean that everything has gone as planned, nor that the role of the United Nations in the country is over. The latest report of the Secretary-General on the activities of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) make this clear. The report indicates that progress has been achieved as well as important initiatives taken by the Government of Timor-Leste in the promotion of transparency and in the responsible management of public affairs, as well as in the promotion of human rights. As the report indicates, the support of the international community for these initiatives will be key if they are to be successful.

Many other objectives remain to be achieved for which the continued support of the international community will also be necessary. The report lists the tremendous difficulties in terms of economic and social development which are yet to be tackled and also indicates major challenges in the area of administrative and judicial training, and in particular in the area of the maintenance of security.

As we saw at the end of last year and at the beginning of this one, Timor-Leste still faces serious threat to law and order. The Council shows its ability to react by adopting, on 4 April last, resolution 1473 (2003), which postponed the downsizing of the military component of UNMISET to the planned end of the Mission.

We welcome the wise decision to accede to the request of the Secretary-General, which will allow more time to establish and train the Timorese forces to exercise the fundamental activities of guaranteeing public security and ensuring the territorial integrity of the country. We therefore support an extension of UNMISET's mandate to May 2004.

The importance of the current efforts of the United Nations in Timor-Leste goes beyond the reality of that small country. The results that have been achieved show the effectiveness of coordinated actions at the multilateral level and the international community's ability to act through this body. The incidents of December 2002 and January 2003 served, however, as a reminder of the temporary nature of incomplete solutions. Resolution 1473 (2003) was a proper and immediate reaction to the situation, and it

seems to have led to the necessary adjustments for a short-term solution.

The continued support of the international community, in order to make it possible to conclude the training process in Timor-Leste, will be crucial if we want this success story to continue.

Brazil, to the extent possible, will continue to support the efforts of the United Nations and of the Government of Timor-Leste on the path to building its institutions, in order to foster the economic and social development of the country and of its people.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of New Zealand. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MacKay (New Zealand): New Zealand welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) and the steady progress in implementing UNMISET's mandate. We also congratulate Timor-Leste on its engagement with the international system, the setting up of a Government administration in such a short time-frame, and its commitment to upholding the ideals of human rights and democracy.

The Secretary-General's report says, however, that a number of challenges remain. Ongoing efforts will need to be made and attention paid to developing capable security forces, progressing border demarcation, fostering participatory democracy and open government, developing a strong judicial system, and bringing to justice those responsible for human rights violations in the territory in 1999.

New Zealand commends the responsiveness of the Security Council to security developments on the ground in Timor-Leste and the adoption of resolution 1473 (2003), providing for an adjustment in the timetable for downsizing the military and police components of UNMISET. It is clear that the recent security-related incidents were beyond the ability of the domestic police force, and in this respect we particularly welcome the measures in the resolution aimed at supporting and strengthening the police sector in Timor-Leste.

We also endorse the Secretary-General's appeal for donors to consider targeted support to the police sector. We acknowledge that this is a sector which will require ongoing assistance even after the end of the UNMISET mandate. New Zealand, at its recently held bilateral assistance talks with the Timorese Government, pledged that it would focus part of its bilateral assistance programme on police development through agreed multilateral and bilateral projects, especially in the areas of community policing and civilian support.

A functioning judicial system is clearly important for social and political stability. The Secretary-General's report notes that problems still remain in the justice sector. New Zealand is particularly concerned that Timor-Leste establish a functioning Court of Appeal as soon as possible. The recent appointment of the President of the Court of Appeal is a welcome development in this respect. New Zealand is also concerned about the large numbers of prisoners held on remand, including a significant number whose warrants for their incarceration have expired.

New Zealand congratulates the Timor-Leste Government on its initiative to develop a more open system of government, with its series of visits to the districts by Members of Parliament and officials to promote discussion of Government policy and to receive feedback. As regards addressing the grievances of former combatants and veterans, we welcome the work of the two Commissions established by the President's Office to identify veterans who served from 1975-1979 and 1980-1999. We hope that the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) "Recovery, Employment and Stability Programme for Ex-Combatants and Communities in Timor-Leste" will draw, and build upon, the work already undertaken by the commissions.

New Zealand also welcomes the work of the United Nations Serious Crimes Unit in Timor-Leste and notes the recent series of indictments issued by the Unit for crimes against humanity. We hope that all the parties involved will take the steps necessary to bring the individuals involved to trial. We are closely watching the separate ad hoc tribunal process in Jakarta and reiterate comments made previously that this process must meet international standards of justice.

Finally, we agree with the report's assessment that, while progress has been steady, much remains to be done. Continued support from the international community will be vital to enable Timor-Leste to address the political, economic and security challenges that lie ahead. The United Nations also plays a vital

support role in this. New Zealand commends the leadership of Special Representative Sharma in implementing UNMISET's mandate and endorses its renewal for a further 12 months. I should like also to thank Mr. Sharma for his introduction of the report here today.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Fiji. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Savua (Fiji): I thank you, Sir, for the opportunity to address the Council on this important issue. Through you, I wish to thank the Permanent Representative of Timor-Leste for the cooperation that his Government has lent to the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET). We also acknowledge the Secretary-General's report, introduced by Mr. Karmalesh Sharma, on the progress of transition of responsibilities in Timor-Leste, but for some remaining areas of challenge, and on the detailed military strategy for downsizing the Mission, as requested in resolution 1473 (2003).

Of the remaining challenges, the one of particular concern to Fiji is the reported increased activities in recent months of armed groups and former militia elements that are intent on destabilizing the country. With this in mind, the Secretary-General's call for international military capability is strongly endorsed by Fiji and we stand ready to boost our present commitment within our military capability in this area in order to assist in the timely and peaceful exit of UNMISET.

We can expect optimism when the implementation of the Security Council mandate is reaching milestones. Reality also requires the Organization to periodically revisit its goalposts. We have to be cautious and hope that the accelerated pace of positive developments in all sectors of Timor-Leste will be synonymous with sustained peace and stability for the country and that the planned drawdown of the military security personnel will not be a window of opportunity for destabilizing elements to re-establish their interests in Timor-Leste.

We are mindful of the need for caution with respect to the fragility of any peace-building exercise. Timor-Leste is no exception. It is also a situation that has produced results, which are benefits that the Timorese people deserve and which flow from the investment of the international community. In Timor-Leste, we are engaged in a careful balancing of securing a peaceful setting within which training for the local police and defence forces can be accomplished, alongside other public-sector transitions. In doing so, we are concerned to leave all the decision-making to the Government and people of Timor-Leste.

In this connection, we recall the Secretary-General's own caution, expressed in paragraph 35 of his special report, on the need to execute downsizing that is sensitive to the Government's desire to assume responsibility for security issues in a feasible way and that does not jeopardize its stability. Our primary concern here is not to compromise the confidence, capacity and capability of Timor-Leste's fledgling military and security forces with a rushed time line and anticipated operational demands. In this, however, we support the proposal to strengthen the role of the civilian police in the capacity-building exercise of the Timor-Leste National Police. We believe that, while the military can deter further acts of violence, it is the police that establish the foundations of long-term peace, stability and law abidance for nations and their peoples.

We would close, therefore, by endorsing the Secretary-General's request to this Council in paragraph 64 of his report to extend the mandate of UNMISET for a further year, until 20 May 2004. In so doing, we look forward to the consultation process with the troop-contributing countries on the options that are being developed for the operations of and interactions between each military organization, as the Secretary-General undertakes in his report.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Indonesia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Percaya (Indonesia): Permit me to express the gratitude of my delegation to you, Sir, for convening this meeting. Like previous speakers before us, my delegation also welcomes the presence of Ambassador Kamalesh Sharma to introduce the report of the Secretary-General and for his comprehensive briefing to the Council.

As indicated in the report, we are pleased to learn of the progress achieved in Timor-Leste. Indeed, Timor-Leste has taken significant steps forward in solidifying its position at the regional and global

levels, notably as a member of the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific. In this regard, my Government stands ready to work together with the Government of Timor-Leste.

It is also gratifying to record that our bilateral relations are steadily flourishing, thus serving our common interests in many spheres, including border demarcation. Indonesia has embraced Timor-Leste as part of many regional forums and initiatives. There is no doubt that Indonesia and Timor-Leste continue to be steadfast in building stronger relations between them as two friendly neighbouring countries. Our common history has taught us that arriving at a stable and mutually beneficial relationship should be based upon a forward-looking attitude.

The phase, the substance and the priorities of our relations, however, should be fully determined by us as two sovereign States. The international community and the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) should be fully appreciative and supportive of this principle. After all, when UNMISET's planned mandate ends in May 2004, the two countries, as eternal neighbours, have no alternative but to strengthen their bilateral relations. In doing so, we will eliminate the need for any third party to influence the nature and course of our interaction.

Timor-Leste has been widely considered a success story for the international community. Much of the credit should go to the perseverance of the East Timorese themselves and other dedicated international personalities. One cannot forget, however, that the non-existence of favourable cooperation and an unwillingness to be reconciled make it difficult for other peacekeeping operations to emulate this success. Rather than supporting the distinctive and laudable situation between our two nations, some quarters tend to disregard it and even attempt to inflict other agendas on us that would surely disrupt our shared vision.

As the first anniversary of Timor-Leste's independence approaches, it is high time for the international community to permit a more progressive transfer of operational responsibilities to the East Timorese. UNMISET, to be faithful to its name and mandate, is to provide assistance to a sovereign entity, as stipulated in resolution 1410 (2002). We believe that UNMISET, as a true peacekeeping mission, will honour its exit strategy and not reluctantly surrender it on the basis of a careful assessment on the ground.

My delegation cannot but note with concern prejudices expressed in the report on certain issues, in particular concerning security at the border and justice. My Government's position and strong commitment in these endeavours need no reiteration.

In view of the efforts of both Indonesia and Timor-Leste to develop good and friendly relations, the steadily growing relationship between the two countries is far too important to allow any issue that might arise to disrupt this relationship. As our bilateral relations continue to flourish at all levels, we call on the international community, as well as the United Nations, to support them.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I now give the floor to Ambassador Sharma to respond to comments and questions raised.

Mr. Sharma: I promise not to test the patience of representatives too much, but many observations have been made and I would indeed like to make comments on at least some of them.

To begin with, I wish to thank all delegations for the views, points of emphasis, assessments and advice which they have given on the work of the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET). I can assure them that I have taken very careful note of them and that I and my colleagues will profit from them.

I also wish to thank delegations for their expressions of support and appreciation for UNMISET's work. They are a great encouragement to me and to my many colleagues, who are responsible for any useful contribution that we may have been able to make. Here, I wish to express my deep appreciation for the committed and sterling support that I have consistently received from all of my colleagues. After every appearance before the Council, I brief the entire staff and membership of UNMISET collectively, and I will personally convey to them the dominant sentiments expressed in the Security Council and its expectations of us. I can assure the Council that we will continue to strive to the utmost to try to fulfil its mandate to the best of our capacity.

I also wish to place on record the supportiveness and accessibility that I have always received from the leaders of Timor-Leste, for which I remain deeply

grateful. In addition, I wish to assure individual delegations that we stand ready to provide any information or clarification on UNMISET's work that they may require, now or in the future.

Of the many observations that were made, I should particularly like to recall those that emphasized the need to strengthen public institutions. That is a central preoccupation of ours. I should also like to endorse the observations concerning the need for the international community's continued assistance. An emphasis on human rights is obviously central to our work, and we fully support that. We will always work in the light of the highest international norms in the field of human rights, which the Government of Timor-Leste intends to observe. Lastly, the emphasis on the rule of law as a core element of the new democracy and the need to preserve and promote it are things of which we are extremely mindful, as is the Government.

Many points were covered in the statements by delegates, and I should like to throw some light on four or five of them.

First are the many observations on the judicial system. In November 2002, the Government of Timor-Leste and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) conducted a joint mission to assess the judicial system. Those bodies are now in the process of preparing projects to strengthen the capacity of the judicial system.

It is true that, in many respects, the courts continue to function in a haphazard manner and are in great need of assistance. It was observed here that illegal detention of persons on expired detention warrants has been an unfortunate practice. Similarly, the courts have failed to hear cases in a timely and efficient manner, and that is a major concern. While there is a lack of personnel — which hinders efficiency — officers of the court have also been perceived as needing to display the required understanding of the roles of judges, prosecutors and public defenders. That is a particular concern, since legislation adopted by Parliament in the future will be tested through litigation before the courts. I should emphasize that the leaders of Timor-Leste are well aware of the need to do this urgently, and we are in close interaction with them on this matter. They have an avowed commitment to democracy and the rule of law, and they have said so on a number of occasions. However, it is clear that internal will and discipline, provision of personnel and significant bilateral and multilateral assistance will all be required to improve the functioning of the justice sector, both alongside and after UNMISET. It is expected that the finalized justice sector programme will be ready by the end of June this year.

There was a related question concerning the Court of Appeal. The Court of Appeal was established by the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) but had been largely non-functional since December 2001. UNMISET thus found a non-functional Court of Appeal and made the greatest possible efforts to locate and employ suitable judges who would serve as judges on the Court of Appeal. In February this year, the four original members of the Superior Council of the Magistracy recommended to the President of Timor-Leste that one of those judges, Mr. Claudio Ximenes, be appointed President of the Court of Appeal. In March, the President of the Republic issued a decree appointing Mr. Ximenes to that position. There was a question as to whether the Parliament needed to ratify that, and the decree was sent to Parliament. Parliament decided by a vote last Tuesday that its ratification was not required. Therefore, the President of the Court of Appeal is now expected to be sworn in over the course of the week.

There were comments and encouragement by many delegations urging that the target date of 30 June to agree on a line constituting the border be met. I wish to state that, at the Joint Border Committee's most recent meeting, in December, both sides agreed on a work plan that envisaged a meeting in January to compare border lines drawn from satellite imagery unilaterally by each side and the start of the field work in February. That meeting was held in March, having been delayed. Both sides adopted a new work plan, in accordance with which joint field work was to start in April. At a meeting held in Jakarta in April, both sides agreed to start the field work on 5 May. In order to meet the target date, strong commitment by both countries is needed, and further delays should, of course, be avoided.

Timor-Leste will require technical and financial support to make its contribution — particularly for the field surveys — and UNMISET is trying to be as helpful as it can in that respect. Meeting the target date does not, of course, depend only on accomplishing the joint survey work. We are sure that both sides are

mindful of the requirement to continue negotiating in good faith, on the basis of the 1904 treaty agreed upon by both sides as the legal basis for the international boundary. The developments so far have been extremely promising, as noted by many delegates, and we hope that the process will continue in the same spirit.

Some delegations asked about the operational readiness of the National Police of Timor-Leste (PNTL) to take over internal security challenges after the United Nations peacekeeping force (UNPKF) and the United Nations police (UNPOL) have left. Many challenges do indeed lie ahead, particularly in relation to the level of readiness that the PNTL will have achieved by around this time next year.

The police force has to be ready to meet internal security threats in the future. In essence, there are four main challenges. First and foremost is that of working towards the creation of an impartial, non-partisan, apolitical, efficient and accountable police force. That will require a mix of legislation, regulations and training.

The second challenge is that of appropriate provisioning of the Border Patrol Unit, to which some delegations have referred. The Government, UNMISET and troop-contributing countries, through the donation of their facilities to the PNTL, are trying to address this issue.

The third relates to the creation of the rapid deployment groups. The following elements need to be considered in depth: their size, composition and physical location; their standard operating procedures and the training to be given to them; and the supply of appropriate armaments and other equipment.

Finally, the training and development of rapid intervention units to deal with urban disorder would be facilitated through the stationing of an internationally formed unit approved by the Council, as this would provide the rapid intervention units more time to develop and consolidate. We hope to achieve that end successful as well.

However, development of the police can take place effectively only against a backdrop of general respect for the rule of law. An honest, efficient and accountable police force but one which, for instance, is forced to accept illegal detentions due to problems in the judiciary or in the correctional system cannot command the trust and confidence of the community it polices. Improvements in the delivery of justice, particularly in this Year of Administrative Restructuring and Justice in Timor-Leste announced by the Prime Minister, are critical if the police force is to grow into the social and professional role expected of it. The Government realizes that very well.

There was a reference to the workshop which was concluded just a couple of days ago. It was indeed a very successful workshop. It succeeded in making the development of the PNTL a participatory process. It attracted high-level, active participation from the Timor-Leste leadership; from ambassadors and other representatives from several countries, including those based in Jakarta; from senior officers and the rank and file of the PNTL; and from representatives of various sectors of society in Timor-Leste. It promoted a sense of ownership among all stakeholders in this critical process. It also demonstrated the Government's commitment to making the PNTL a professional and accountable force equal to the challenges before it. As President Gusmão said at the workshop, the police must appear in the eyes of society to be the guardians of order.

It has been decided that another workshop will be held very shortly — at the end of May or in early June — in which the role of the various wings of the police that are being created will be further discussed, because there was not enough time to go into this in the required detail. This in itself is an indication of the success of the workshop: that it is mindful of the need to complete the work it started.

There were questions about situations on the ground at the present time. The recent attacks by the armed groups were on an exceptional scale. In my statement I mentioned that even if numerically, compared to many other regions in the world, they may have looked not all that serious, the requirement is to look at them in the context of the immediate past from which the nation is emerging and of the future challenges which an extrapolation of incidents of this type could pose to the country. Then we can evaluate these developments in the context required. Those attacks involved heavily armed personnel. They were well equipped, and their level of tactical training and awareness made their tracking and apprehension a challenging task, even for capable forces.

These occurrences do not lend themselves to easy distinctions between external and internal threats. They lie in a grey area between the two. But what is certain is that they need to be dealt with by military forces in the immediate term, and probably largely by augmented Timorese forces in the long term. Neither have the civil disturbances we have seen been apolitical. The riots in Dili appeared to have included the careful targeting of property, which would undermine confidence in the Government.

At this nascent stage of the country's development, any perception of a possible return to violence and disorder would exacerbate the sense of insecurity in the population and must therefore be effectively combated. I am most grateful to the Council for having strengthened our hand so that we will be able to do what is needed.

I should add that, following these incidents, the Government has encouraged the formation of village-based security groups to assist the police and the peacekeeping force in looking out for infiltrators. Since January, high-ranking Government officials have often spoken about the importance of the population being the eyes and ears of the police and bringing information or suspicious people directly to the authorities. Such civic-education messages are understandable in a country where there is not a police presence in each village. The wounds of 1999 are still fresh, and there remains considerable and understandable fear in the community about the possibility of a resurgence of violence in the country. But civilian security groups are nothing new in Timor-Leste; indeed, such groups are common throughout the region. And even without Government direction from above, it is probable that Timorese in rough urban neighbourhoods and in isolated, largely unpoliced, villages will form their own security groups.

However, there are grounds for concern that some of those groups could take vigilance to the point of vigilantism. That is of considerable concern not least because of the possible undermining effect it could have on the PNTL, which must remain at the centre of international efforts to establish the rule of law. UNMISET has been in discussion with the Government on this issue, and the Government is fully cognizant of it as well. To date, there is little evidence to suggest that these groups are incorporated into wider structures that could be used for political purposes, but that possibility also needs to be monitored.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank Ambassador Karmalesh Sharma, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Timor-Leste and Head of Mission, for his responses and clarifications, and I wish him good luck as he continues his task.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4745

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4745th meeting

Tuesday, 29 April 2003, 3.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Aguilar Zinser	(Mexico)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Antonio
	Bulgaria	Mr. Raytchev
	Cameroon	Mr. Ndoumbe Eboule
	Chile	Mr. Maquieira
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	France	Mr. Florent
	Germany	Mr. Much
	Guinea	Mr. Boubacar Diallo
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Spain	Ms. Menéndez
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Rosenblatt

Agenda

International Criminal Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Genocide and Other Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of Rwanda and Rwandan Citizens Responsible for Genocide and Other Such Violations Committed in the Territory of Neighbouring States between 1 January and 31 December 1994

Letter dated 21 April 2003 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2003/467)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-33843 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

International Criminal Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Genocide and Other Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of Rwanda and Rwandan Citizens Responsible for Genocide and Other Such Violations Committed in the Territory of Neighbouring States between 1 January and 31 December 1994

Letter dated 21 April 2003 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2003/467)

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2003/467, which contains the text of a letter dated 21 April 2003 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/2003/505, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1477 (2003).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 3.40 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4746

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4746th meeting

Tuesday, 29 April 2003, 3.40 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Aguilar Zinser	(Mexico)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Raytchev
	Cameroon	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou
	Chile	Mr. Valdés
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Guinea	Mr. Fall
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Spain	Ms. Menéndez
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Williamson

Agenda

The situation in Côte d'Ivoire

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-33849 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Côte d'Ivoire

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and with the consent of the Council, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation to His Excellency Mr. Nana Addo-Dankwa Afufo-Addo, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to His Excellency Mr. Nana Addo-Dankwa Afufo-Addo, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Afufo-Addo (Ghana) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and with the consent of the Council, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation to His Excellency Mr. Mamadou Bamba, Minister of State and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Côte d'Ivoire, to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to His Excellency Mr. Mamadou Bamba, Minister of State and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Côte d'Ivoire.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bamba (Côte d'Ivoire) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and with the consent of the Council, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation to His Excellency Mr. Dubem Onyia, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to His Excellency Mr. Dubem Onyia, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Nigeria.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Onyia (Nigeria) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and with the consent of the Council, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation to the representative of Senegal to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Fall (Senegal) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I should also like to welcome the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Guinea, His Excellency Mr. François Lonsény Fall, who is with us today as head of the delegation of Guinea.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 25 April 2003 from the Permanent Representative of Ghana to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

> "I have the honour to request that the Executive Secretary of the Economic Community of West African States, Mohamed Ibn Chambas, be invited to address the Security Council on Tuesday, 29 April 2003, in accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Council."

That letter has been published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/2003/500.

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 to His Excellency Mr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to the Executive Secretary of the Economic Community of West African States, Mr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas, and invite him to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

As President, I am pleased to welcome the Ministers or Ministers of State for Foreign Affairs of Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea and Nigeria, who are part of the ECOWAS mission, to address, with the members of the Security Council, the situation in Côte d'Ivoire. This meeting follows up on the statement of Mr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas, Executive Secretary of ECOWAS, at the Council's public meeting on 11 April 2003, when we discussed the relationship between the Security Council and regional and subregional organizations in facing the new challenges to international peace and security.

We favour strengthening mechanisms of cooperation and coordination between the United Nations and ECOWAS, to create a process leading to lasting and stable peace in Côte d'Ivoire and to implement measures designed to achieve security and stability in that country and in the rest of the West African region.

I am happy now to welcome the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Kofi Annan, to whom I give the floor.

The Secretary-General: First, let me warmly welcome the distinguished Foreign Ministers of countries of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) who are here with us today, and to thank ECOWAS, as well as France, for the important role they are playing in the search for peace and stability in Côte d'Ivoire through their support for the implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis Accord. On the military front, their peacekeeping activities have played a key role in averting escalation in the fighting.

Secondly, let me thank the members of the Council for the consistent attention they have given to the crisis in Côte d'Ivoire and to the role of the United Nations in the peace process. My Special Representative, Mr. Albert Tevoedjre, is currently chairing the follow-up committee established in accordance with the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement, and I am pleased at the progress that Prime Minister Seydou Diarra has made in establishing the new Government.

The presence of such a high-level ECOWAS delegation shows today how seriously West Africa takes the problem immediately confronting us; namely, how to replenish the depleted financial resources of the ECOWAS Peace Force for Côte d'Ivoire (ECOFORCE) so that it can continue playing its essential role in promoting peace in Côte d'Ivoire.

In this context, we must acknowledge the help already given by those donor countries and institutions that have been assisting ECOWAS since the beginning of its involvement in Côte d'Ivoire, and particularly for the deployment of ECOFORCE.

At this critical time, when the various Ivorian parties have at last begun taking important steps to implement the Accord, ECOWAS has found it necessary to decide on a substantial increase in the size of ECOFORCE in order to make it more effective. I appeal to members of the Council, and the broader international community, to quickly provide ECOWAS with the additional financial resources that will be required to sustain ECOFORCE for the next six months.

In order to complement the peacekeeping efforts launched by ECOWAS and France, I have recommended the establishment of a small United Nations operation comprising military liaison components, as well as human rights, civil affairs and media components. I hope that Council members will shortly authorize this mission so that the United Nations can strengthen its role in the Ivorian peace process.

In conclusion, let me assure the ECOWAS ministers that the United Nations will continue to cooperate with them as we work together to help the Ivorian people recover the stability and prosperity for which their country was so well known in the past.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

The next speaker is His Excellency Mr. Nana Addo-Dankwa Afufo-Addo, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana and current Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States, on whom I call.

Mr. Afufo-Addo (Ghana): We are here as a result of a mandate given to us by the Mediation and Security Council of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to try to advance the peace process in Côte d'Ivoire.

On 7 April, the Council mandated a team of Foreign Ministers of five ECOWAS countries — Guinea, a member of the Security Council, Senegal, Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana — to come to the West to apprise Governments and the Security Council of the measures that are being taken to try to consolidate the process of peacemaking in Côte d'Ivoire and to seek the Council's support for those measures.

As the Council knows, since the crisis broke out in Côte d'Ivoire, ECOWAS has been active, within its means, to try to contain and stabilize the situation in Côte d'Ivoire. It has done so principally, first of all, by negotiating a ceasefire among those who are fighting, and also by contributing to the negotiations on a new Government of national reconciliation in Côte d'Ivoire. That Government is now in place, and the developments that have taken place since it came into being are convincing all of us that, indeed, Côte d'Ivoire is now returning to the path of normalcy and peace. It is, therefore, essential on the part of the Community to give the new Government and that process the maximum amount of support.

It is in the light of that that the Defence and Security Commission of ECOWAS decided that it would be necessary to expand the force that was put into Côte d'Ivoire from a force of 1,200-odd soldiers to a force of some 3,200 soldiers. The mandate given to the original force was essentially a role in monitoring the ceasefire. It has now been decided that that mandate should be transformed to include several other elements: first, the protection of the new Government; secondly, the ability to patrol the borders, especially the western border of Côte d'Ivoire, which is a source of great concern; thirdly, responsibility for the demobilization and disarmament of the various militias in Côte d'Ivoire; and, lastly, the creation of the conditions that would allow the new Government to have full control of the national territory.

Clearly, the redefinition of this mandate and the expansion of the force have obvious financial implications. Despite the willingness of ECOWAS to find a home-grown solution to the problem, the means available to the Community are not what they should be. It is for that reason that the Mediation and Security Council decided to mandate this group that is before the Council today to tour certain capitals and to come to this body to seek its support for the financing of this expanded force in Côte d'Ivoire.

We began our journey yesterday in Washington, where, in our view, we had an extremely fruitful interchange. We have come here today, and from here we shall be going to Europe — principally to Paris, Rome, Berlin, London, The Hague and Brussels — to press the case for assistance in financing the force. The intention is to conclude our tour at Brussels on 12 May with a meeting of those who are interested in assisting — a donors' conference.

We are very grateful to the President and the other members of the Council for the opportunity they have given us to present our case and to say one fundamental thing: Côte d'Ivoire is an extremely important nation within the West African region. Both economically and politically, it is one of the most important States in West Africa. The Ivorians themselves have shown a willingness to try to find accommodation and understanding among themselves within the context of the very difficult circumstances in which they have found themselves during the last six months. It is our belief that it is the duty of the Community — and, indeed, if I dare say so, the duty of the international community as assembled here in the Council — to support the process that the Ivorians themselves have initiated. The most concrete support that can be given to that process is to enable this force to operate and to create the conditions that will allow Côte d'Ivoire to return to full normalcy and peace and to be able — at the end of the process, in October 2005 — to conduct credible, free and fair elections, which we believe will be the most effective way of bringing this crisis to an end.

I am grateful for the opportunity to have addressed the Council.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker is his Excellency Mamadou Bamba, Minister of State and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Côte d'Ivoire, on whom I now call.

Mr. Bamba (Côte d'Ivoire) (*spoke in French*): On behalf of the Government of Côte d'Ivoire, I would like to thank the Secretary-General and the members of the Security Council for their significant contribution

towards the restoration of peace and stability in my country.

Since the signing of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement at Accra, political developments overall have been relatively satisfactory. A Government of reconciliation has been formed and is meeting on a weekly basis, with a Government council meeting on Tuesdays and a council of ministers meeting on Thursdays. Having seen the Government at work, I can say to the Council that the general working atmosphere is very good. The ministers, who are drawn from all the political spheres, are determined to make an effort to move Côte d'Ivoire towards peace and stability. The Government's first important decision pertains to security in Côte d'Ivoire. The Government has therefore banned all demonstrations which are accompanied by violence. It has also banned all militias and so-called self-defence committees.

A meeting of the Government council was held today at Abidjan. The Government has taken the decision to mobilize combat helicopters. We have noted that there are increasingly fewer violations of the ceasefire on the front lines. The Government is now establishing security corridors to promote exchanges between Côte d'Ivoire and neighbouring countries. In that context, the Minister of Trade has already visited Niger, Burkina Faso and Mali in order to gain the support of those Governments so that trade can be established with those countries as soon as possible. The Government has also sent a delegation to Burkina Faso so that we may very soon initiate train service between Abidjan and Ouagadougou.

The people of Côte d'Ivoire are aware of their country's role in the subregion. We are also aware of the fact that the problems in Côte d'Ivoire are affecting all the neighbouring countries of the subregion. It is for that reason that we would solemnly like to say here that the Government will abide by all of its international commitments, in particular with the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement of Kleber and Accra. However, despite the Government's efforts, the situation continues to be fragile. It is not easy to restore confidence among belligerent forces in a very short period. But the Government is determined to make the march towards peace irreversible, and it has made reconciliation among Ivorians and between Ivorians and their neighbours a reality.

Our concern today is with the situation in the western part of the country, where there are rebels from Liberia and Sierra Leone. It can be said that there is war in that part of the country today.

On the diplomatic level, the heads of State of Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia met two days ago in Kara, Togo. One of the main decisions to come out of that meeting concerned the interposition of forces along the 700 kilometre border between Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia. Those forces will essentially be composed of national forces from Côte d'Ivoire, and forces from Liberia, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Peace Force for Côte d'Ivoire (ECOFORCE) and France in the context of Operation Unicorn. The second decision was to hold a meeting, either today or tomorrow, between the chiefs of staff of the Liberian and Ivorian armies in order to implement the first decision, to which I have just referred.

A second major concern pertains to the flow of small weapons in the region. This is a factor for destabilization. For that reason, we believe that what is occurring in Côte d'Ivoire could take place in any country if nothing is done to control the dissemination of such weapons in the subregion.

That was a brief summary of the situation. I should like to say that we need the ongoing assistance of the Security Council and of the entire international community in order for us quickly to emerge from this crisis situation and for peace and stability to be restored to Côte d'Ivoire and to the subregion. Côte d'Ivoire needs ECOFORCE, and we hope that it will remain in Côte d'Ivoire until the upcoming elections in 2005.

We hope also that, with the support of the international community and with the presence of ECOFORCE, we will be able to implement all the provisions of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement in an atmosphere of peace and calm. We keenly hope that the international community will agree to contribute to ECOFORCE, so that it can play its role side by side with the French soldiers of Operation Unicorn.

Mr. Fall (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): It is always gratifying for me to return to New York and to meet again with all my friends around this table. I wish also to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting with the members of the Security Council. We are very pleased to be able to have this exchange of views under your presidency. We acknowledge and fully appreciate

your personal commitment to the development of an effective partnership between the Security Council and regional organizations.

Your delegation, on 11 April last, convened an open meeting of the Security Council on that issue, and we welcome that. That meeting was an opportunity to stress the complementary nature of the Security Council's actions with those of regional organizations and the need to enhance their capacity for intervention.

This afternoon's meeting is therefore taking place in the framework of the active partnership that was set up between the Security Council and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) some time ago. The mission of ECOWAS, our subregional organization, is to create conditions of peace and stability in West Africa in order to facilitate the integration of our States.

We were very encouraged by the adoption by the Security Council on 4 February last of resolution 1464 (2003) and especially by its full support for ECOWAS's efforts to promote peace and security in Côte d'Ivoire. I need hardly stress the consequences of the Ivorian crisis for the whole of our subregion, and especially the need to give ECOWAS the means it requires in order that we may continue our determined efforts to restore peace in Côte d'Ivoire.

Indeed, we already have some experience in restoring peace in West Africa. This was made clear in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau, and now we are in Côte d'Ivoire. It would be presumptuous of us to tell the members of the Security Council that peacekeeping or peace-building operations require significant logistical and financial resources, which are, unfortunately, not always within reach of our countries. That is why we are looking to the members of the Council today to work with us in our initiative, which is fully in accord with the Council's mandate. We have no doubts about the concern of the members of the Council as to the Ivorian crisis, and we count on their support for the efforts of ECOWAS for the benefit of peace and stability, a goal that is so important to the Security Council.

That is the fundamental reason for our presence here today. We are convinced that with the Council's continued support for our organization — if it indeed does continue — and with assistance from our bilateral and multilateral partners, the action that we have undertaken in Côte d'Ivoire will be successful and accord fully with the efforts of the Security Council to restore peace in Côte d'Ivoire and stabilize West Africa.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like to say how gratified we are to see the representative of Guinea once again occupying his country's seat at the Council table.

I give the floor to Mr. Dubem Onyia, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Nigeria.

Mr. Onyia (Nigeria): I wish fully to align myself with the statement made by the leader of the delegation of Guinea, the Foreign Minister. He has said all that needs to be said.

I wish simply to add that there is a need for us to come together and for the Security Council to take seriously the issue of Côte d'Ivoire. It is important, because we cannot stand by and watch Côte d'Ivoire deteriorate to the level of Sierra Leone before the intervention of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and of the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL).

If we want to look at the problems of the subregion holistically and ensure peace and stability there, this is the time to come to the aid of Côte d'Ivoire. Looking at the problem in Côte d'Ivoire will contribute to the resolution of all the other problems within the subregion.

I personally do not have anything to add to what the leader of the delegation said earlier.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker on my list is Mr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas, Executive Secretary of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), to whom I give the floor.

Mr. Chambas: Mr. President, you have been very kind to the ECOWAS secretariat. Under your presidency, this is the second time you have given the opportunity to the executive secretariat to address the Council, which we deeply appreciate.

We have had the privilege of participating in two meetings organized by the Council in the past two months. Under the Guinean presidency, there was a meeting on 18 March on the proliferation of small arms and mercenaries in West Africa. Then, as you will recall, Sir, under your presidency, on 11 April, we had

a meeting in this Council on regional organizations and the Security Council facing new challenges to international peace and security.

Certain themes were common in the discussions at these two meetings: first, the link between instability and deepening poverty; secondly, the link between the easy availability of arms and the existence of a system of violence and instability in certain subregions, including our own; and thirdly, the link between prolonged crisis and the emergence of a network of mercenaries and unemployed youths ready for hire in various conflicts.

The discussions of the Council at the two meetings underscored the importance and the role of regional organizations in breaking the cycle of violence in their respective subregions and in taking the necessary diplomatic and political measures — supported, of course; by member countries in the subregions to create conditions for peace and stability, which are essential for fighting poverty and nurturing democratic Governments.

ECOWAS has taken up this challenge. We have shown no lack of political will to act and intervene in conflicts in the subregion, whether in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau, as seen in the past, or now in Côte d'Ivoire.

Of course, our major limitation has been the lack of financial wherewithal: the financial resources to carry through with our commitments. That is what faces us as we attempt to stabilize Côte d'Ivoire and restore normality, peace and prosperity.

I believe that the Council is now challenged to find ways in which it can support worthy subregional efforts to maintain peace and security, which, after all, is the primary responsibility of the Security Council. I know that in this discussion there have been suggestions, inter alia, that we might begin to look at cases of successful subregional deployment of troops under Chapter VIII to stabilize crisis situations and ask ourselves whether it might not be prudent for the Council to provide the requisite resources for such forces. We think that the Council should indeed encourage ECOWAS and other subregional organizations to continue to play a leading role, for instance, as we are doing in Côte d'Ivoire. Indeed, it should encourage the creation of the right synergy and collaborative working relationships between ECOWAS and the Council to deal with these problems of peace and security.

In that regard, we very much welcome the scheduled visit by the Security Council to the subregion during the presidency of the United Kingdom. We look forward to continuing these discussions during that impending visit.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the Executive Secretary of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) for the kind words he addressed to me.

We have listened attentively to statements by the Secretary-General, by the Ministers or Ministers of State for Foreign Affairs of Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea and Nigeria and by the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I should now like to invite Council members to a private meeting to continue our discussion of this subject.

The meeting rose at 4.25 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4747

Security Council

Distr.: General
29 April 2003
English
Original: French

Official communiqué of the 4747th (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Tuesday, 29 April 2003, at 4.30 p.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"At its 4747th meeting, held in private on 29 April 2003, the Security Council considered the item entitled 'The situation in Côte d'Ivoire'.

"Members of the Council, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana and current Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Minister of State and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Côte d'Ivoire, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guinea, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, the Permanent Representative of Senegal and the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS had a constructive discussion.

"The members of the Council welcomed the action taken by ECOWAS with a view to resolving the crisis in Côte d'Ivoire. They strongly supported the appeal addressed by the ECOWAS ministerial delegation to Member States to provide logistical and financial support for the ECOWAS Force deployed in Côte d'Ivoire."

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United Nations S/PV.4748

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4748th meeting

Wednesday, 30 April 2003, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Aguilar Zinser	(Mexico)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou
	Chile	Mr. Valdés
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Guinea	Mr. Boubacar Diallo
	Pakistan	Mr. Khalid
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Arias
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Williamson

Agenda

Wrap-up discussion on the work of the Security Council for the current month

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-34091 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Wrap-up discussion on the work of the Security Council for the current month

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and with the consent of the Council, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend invitations to the representatives of Brazil, Canada, Egypt, Georgia, Greece, Indonesia, Japan and South Africa to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil), Mr. Heinbecker (Canada), Mr. Aboul Gheit (Egypt), Mr. Adamia (Georgia), Mr. Vassilakis (Greece), Mr. Hidayat (Indonesia), Mr. Haraguchi (Japan) and Mr. Kumalo (South Africa) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to His Excellency Mr. Jan Kavan, President of the General Assembly.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Kavan to take a seat at the Council table.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to His Excellency Mr. Gert Rosenthal, President of the Economic and Social Council.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Rosenthal to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I should like to highlight the participation at this meeting of the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Jan Kavan; the President of the Economic and Social Council, Mr. Gert Rosenthal; and the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, to whom we extend a warm welcome; I also highlight the presence of States not members of the Security Council.

This is a defining moment for the Organization. The international situation presents challenges of a very diverse nature, making the presence of the United Nations imperative. Its values, its principles and its institutional strength make it the ideal forum for confronting global challenges related to the threats of malnutrition, the spread of endemic diseases, the destruction of the environment and, very urgently, constant disruptions of the peace. For that reason, the presidency is grateful that, at this very important moment for the Organization, the organs of the United Nations are meeting here to consider together the role that the United Nations should play in post-conflict situations.

Today, we must demonstrate unity of purpose and objectives in facing the new challenges to the international community. We have chosen the theme of "the United Nations after conflicts" because it reflects the excellent work that the Organization has been doing over the years, not only in conflict prevention but in restoring security conditions, the rule of law, the protection of human rights, institution-building and the restoration of socio-economic conditions in States that have emerged from conflict.

This is a time when we must guarantee the primary responsibility of the United Nations as a whole for the maintenance of international peace and security. We hope that, as a result of this exercise, we shall be able to move forward with specific proposals and ideas as to the best way in which the United Nations can and should work on behalf of countries emerging from armed conflict.

The recent successful United Nations experiences in the work of rebuilding, in Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Timor-Leste, show us the importance that the international community attaches to working in its various components on the basis of

cooperation. Here, in their , capacities for complementarity and planning, United Nations bodies should demonstrate their ability to cooperate and to work together.

I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Kofi Annan, and invite him to take the floor.

The Secretary-General: Let me start by thanking you, Mr. President, and your Government for initiating this discussion of the lessons to be derived from the experience of the United Nations in previous conflict and post-conflict situations.

As members know, the United Nations has been engaged in a wide range of activities in this area, from the negotiation of political settlements to profound institutional reconstruction efforts, including the creation of a new State. Reviewing such past experiences can tell us what we did well and what we did less well, and perhaps the reasons in those particular circumstances. It should also help us to improve our performance over time.

But the thing that stands out when we review international engagement in countries affected by conflict is that no single approach has ever been adopted twice, because no two conflicts or post-conflict situations are alike. Even the four recent cases of Afghanistan, Kosovo, Timor-Leste and Sierra Leone are very different from one another, in terms of the causes and consequences of the conflicts, the previous involvement of the United Nations, the political and legal context governing the international community's response, and the sheer size of the affected population and territory.

Therefore, one of the most important lessons when it comes to planning the international community's engagement in a new situation, such as the one we face now in Iraq, is the need first to reach a common understanding of what makes the crisis in question unique, and then to develop our responses accordingly. We should draw on previous experiences to make our responses as effective as possible, while bearing in mind that completely new approaches or forms of assistance may be required.

That means that we need to begin by asking ourselves some fundamental questions, such as the following. Do the parties to the conflict seek, or welcome, international involvement, and, if so, for what purpose? Is the international community able, and does it have the political will, to provide the necessary financial and human resources and to sustain that commitment long enough to ensure success? What are the preconditions for ensuring a self-sustaining and durable peace? What are the needs to be addressed, and in what order of priority? At what pace does the process need to run?

A few specific lessons stand out from the recent case histories. The trust of the parties and the population can be fragile, and cannot be taken for granted over time; their consent needs to be cultivated and preserved. The role of the international community is not to solve all of a country's problems, but to help its people become self-reliant. Priorities must be set, starting with the essential humanitarian needs of the population, which include the need for basic conditions of security, law and order. Meeting those needs will also make it easier to foster the conditions in which viable political processes can emerge and grow — for instance, by promoting reconciliation, good governance, the rule of law, human rights and transitional justice initiatives.

Decisions on the reform of key State institutions and legal and political structures must, if they are to be sustainable in the long run, be taken by the people of the country themselves. Such a process can succeed only if all the main groups in the country or territory play a part in it, feel that it belongs to them and do not perceive it as leading to a predetermined outcome.

The pacing of the overall process, and the sequence and timing of its component parts, are also crucial to success. They need to take into account the political, security and socio-economic conditions in the country, and the degree of support that can realistically be expected from interested members of the international community. Moving too slowly risks losing momentum and fuelling frustration; but going too fast can be equally counterproductive if it means taking hurried decisions whose effects are difficult to reverse.

The regional dimension needs early and sustained attention.

Lastly, there is a direct correlation between United Nations success and Security Council unity, and between United Nations setbacks and divisions among Council members, about the strategy to be pursued. The Council must be united in setting out the overall

objectives for international assistance and a clear division of labour, and must then maintain its unity in providing strong political support, both during rough periods when progress is at risk and when the acute phase of the conflict has passed and no longer commands the attention of the world's media.

In the case of Iraq, which, of course, we all have in mind at the moment, the Council now has the chance to leave behind earlier disagreements and to find unity of purpose in the post-war phase.

Those decisions will not be easy, but they should not be impossible if the Council keeps some shared principles firmly in mind. As they debate those issues, I would urge Council members to set aside past divisions and to ask themselves what would help the Iraqi people most. Their interests must come first. The overriding objective must be to enable the Iraqi people to take charge of their own destiny.

Already, in resolution 1472 (2003), the Council has reaffirmed its commitment to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq, its respect for the right of its people to determine their own political future and to control their own natural resources, and its belief that all parties must abide by their obligations under international law, including the Fourth Geneva Convention.

I am sure all the members of the Council would agree that sovereignty implies political independence and that, in order to determine their political future, the Iraqi people must be free to choose their own system of Government and political leadership. What is needed is an impartial, representative and transparent process leading to the choice, by Iraqis themselves, of a credible and legitimate Iraqi political authority to which sovereignty can be restored. I trust that the members of the Council would also agree on the need to put an end to Iraq's isolation and to help the people of Iraq, as quickly as possible, to establish conditions for a normal life.

Over the coming weeks, the Council will have important decisions to take on existing mandates within the context of the new situation — notably on the issues of sanctions, the oil-for-food programme and weapons inspections. Beyond that, it will need to consider how best the international community can help Iraqis rebuild their country and what part the United Nations might play in assisting that effort and in the process of restoring Iraqi sovereignty.

I hope I can rely on the Council to ensure that any mandate it entrusts to the United Nations is clear, coherent and matched by the necessary resources. In just over 20 years the Iraqi people have lived through three wars and over 10 years of harsh United Nations sanctions. Let us all set aside our past disagreements, ask what will help the Iraqi people most, and act accordingly.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank the Secretary-General for his statement, for his vision, for his views and for the challenges he has presented to us for our consideration this morning.

Before proceeding, I should like to welcome the presence among us in the Chamber of a delegation of Senators from the Mexican Congress. With us are Senator Silvia Hernández of the Institutional Revolutionary Party, Senator Eduardo Ovando of the Institutional Revolutionary Party and Senator Fernando Margain of the National Action Party.

I now call on His Excellency Mr. Jan Kavan, President of the General Assembly.

Mr. Kavan: Let me express at the outset my great appreciation for your initiative, Mr. President, and for giving me the opportunity to speak on this very important topic. Although never quite fulfilling the mandate of international trusteeship as described in the United Nations Charter, the United Nations has engaged in governance of post-conflict societies, particularly in the post-cold-war era.

The United Nations has extensive experience in governance, through setting up United Nations administrations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, and East Timor, and in post-conflict peace-building efforts in Sierra Leone and most recently in Afghanistan. Currently the most outstanding challenge before the Security Council with respect to post-conflict reconstruction is the situation in Iraq.

Since the end of the cold war, the traditional United Nations involvement in post-conflict situations, focusing on political dimensions, has evolved into a much more comprehensive operation undertaking a variety of roles. The four basic pillars of post-conflict reconstruction — security, social and economic well-being, justice and reconciliation, and governance and participation — are all closely linked. A positive outcome in one field depends upon successful implementation in the others. The international

community has major abilities to influence the security situation in post-conflict States and regions. It is the military authorities in charge of a territory who are responsible for building on and sustaining the security situation. However, returning the responsibility for maintaining security to the host country should be regarded as a priority. Forming a multi-ethnic police force in Bosnia and Kosovo and training the Afghani army have been, in my opinion, steps in the right direction.

When considering the socio-economic aspects of post-conflict initiatives, the main emphasis has typically been economic rebuilding and development. But war affects society in a very profound way and tends to disrupt social relations — from national and political to very basic human interactions. I believe that only a healthy society — where social relations are restored, life is lived with dignity, free of oppression or hunger and is fully respected, and where gender perspective is taken into account — can promote and sustain durable peace and development.

Through establishing a process for addressing past and present grievances, the objective of creating a fair, transparent and effective judicial system is closely linked to the issues of reconciliation. Prosecution of crimes against humanity and gross violations of human rights is often hindered by the existence of political and legal obstacles. The United Nations war crimes tribunals prosecuting crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda or Sierra Leone, as well as efforts to establish extraordinary chambers within the existing court structure of Cambodia for prosecution of crimes committed by the Khmer Rouge, play a crucial role in reconciliation efforts of post-conflict societies.

Although there are inherent tensions between the promotion of democracy and previous power structures, strengthening good governance and promoting democracy are crucial for preventing the recurrence of conflicts in crisis-ridden countries. The collapse of civil administrations, for example in Kosovo and East Timor, required the United Nations to assume large-scale government functions. However, a long-term process of good governance and democratization must be driven by citizens of the country and must reflect its specific historical, cultural, political and religious conditions.

In post-conflict situations, much more is needed than efforts by States to restore law and order. Taking the historical background into account — whether represented by ethnic relations in the Balkans or tribal relations in Afghanistan — is crucial to any successful peace-building efforts. It is not only about bringing peace or humanitarian aid into a society emerging from conflict. Any external involvement in the society's affairs must be conducted in a manner most respectful of the various specific features of that society and of its rich diversity.

The latest conflict in Iraq is an example of the complex and unique challenges facing the United Nations in a post-conflict situation. I have no doubt that this crisis will become a new important source of knowledge and experience for the United Nations. The Organization should use this knowledge to refine its methods and improve ways of addressing future conflict situations to be more effective, to be an organization that can select the appropriate strategies and tools for preventing or de-escalating conflict and facilitating peaceful solutions.

Iraq's post-conflict society is confronted with various problems of instability. They include unresolved issues relating to years of political and religious oppression, violence among different clans, dangers stemming from the past totalitarian structures, looting, and an abundance of arms in the absence of effective new local police or security forces. Recent United Nations experiences elsewhere, for example in Kosovo or East Timor, have clearly demonstrated that a comprehensive strategy to tackle these issues in the immediate post-conflict phase is critical. Furthermore, it has become evident that a strategy for political and economic reforms should be crafted in conjunction with an overall vision for democratization of the Iraqi society.

The role of the United Nations in Iraq should not be confined only to an advisory role or reduced to the provision of humanitarian or economic aid, although these issues are extremely important. Broader responsibilities aimed at promoting democracy in Iraq should be part of any planning process.

For all its shortcomings, real or perceived, the United Nations is still the only forum which has the grass-roots experience and personnel to deal with a wide range of crises, whether in humanitarian relief, helping people to rebuild their lives and countries, promoting human rights and the rule of law, conflict management or post-conflict peace-building.

I am confident that the United Nations needs to play a vital role in both the economic reconstruction and the political transformation of post-conflict Iraq. I do believe that it is in the clear interests of both the United Nations and the United States authorities, as Secretary-General Kofi Annan just said, to find a unity of purpose or to reach a working agreement on the exact nature of such mutually complementary cooperation in that country. I do strongly believe that such cooperation will undoubtedly help to bring about the common aim of the establishment of a democratic, free, sovereign and independent Iraq.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I now call on Mr. Gert Rosenthal, President of the Economic and Social Council.

Mr. Rosenthal (*spoke in Spanish*): In my capacity as President of the Economic and Social Council, I appreciate the invitation extended to us to participate in this open meeting of the Security Council.

I would like to make use of the few minutes allocated to me to make four points.

In the first place, if we were to identify one single issue that offers the possibility of a more productive interaction between our two Councils, it would no doubt be the attention that the United Nations accords to countries emerging from conflict. The clearest example is found in the decision adopted by the Economic and Social Council in July last year to create an Ad Hoc Advisory Group On African Countries emerging from conflict. That decision found concrete expression in the creation, in October of 2002, of the first of such groups, the Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Guinea-Bissau. That Group, mandated to examine the humanitarian and economic needs of the country and to promote international cooperation to that end, expressly includes among its members the Chairperson of the Ad Hoc Working Group of the Security Council on Conflict Prevention and Resolution in Africa. We trust that this pioneering action of cooperation between our two Councils is a harbinger of an even more fruitful interaction in the future.

Secondly, for several years now various forums of the United Nations have been insisting on the need to deepen reciprocal support between themselves and the Bretton Woods institutions. Among many other aspects, this is a matter that is not alien to the Security Council in its peace-building efforts. Our own forum has achieved important progress in consolidating that mutual support and in enhancing coherence, cooperation and coordination between the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization. I believe that during our recent Economic and Social Council meeting of 14 April, held in the context of follow-up activities to the Monterrey Consensus, we took an important step in that direction.

Thirdly and in more general terms, under the orientation of the General Assembly, both of our Councils reflect, institutionally, the two great pillars on which the United Nations reposes: the maintenance of peace and constructive coexistence among nations, on the one hand, and economic and social development, respect for human rights and humanitarian assistance, on the other. The Charter itself lays out some connecting vessels between the three organs mentioned — as the President of the General Assembly has just reminded us — and praxis has added additional links, such as those I have just mentioned. We must continue to deepen this trend, since, as banal as it may sound, it is nevertheless a truism that without development there is no peace and that without peace there is no development.

Finally, and in the context of the United Nations system of governance, we would like to believe that the strengths of each of our organs tend to be transmitted to the others, but we also recognize that the same holds true regarding weaknesses. For this reason, we trust that the recent differences in points of view that have characterized the Security Council regarding the elimination of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq can be overcome in the next phases that this forum will have to address on the matter. As the Secretary-General recalled, should this not be forthcoming, all our organs and the United Nations in its entirety will suffer the consequences.

Mr. Diallo (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): At the outset, I should like to convey to you, Sir, my delegation's gratitude for having organized this open wrap-up meeting of the work of the Security Council for April 2003. I also wish to thank our Secretary-General, who has taken time out from his heavy schedule to address the Council, reflecting the importance of today's meeting.

The presence in this Chamber of the Presidents of the General Assembly and of the Economic and Social

Council, as well as representatives of regional groups, is a sure sign that we will have a constructive exchange of views.

More than a mere recapitulation of our activities during your presidency, the theme we are addressing this morning — the role of the United Nations in post-conflict situations — is part of the larger context of the basic mission of our Council: the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security.

Before I tackle the crux of this subject, my delegation wishes to recall that conflicts throughout the world are caused by a variety of complex phenomena, which I shall not go into at this point. These problems, which must necessarily be addressed, cannot be overcome so long as conflicts have not been identified and resolved once and for all.

My delegation is convinced that the consolidation of peace and security is closely linked to development and the establishment of true democracy. There can be no development without peace, since peace is a constituent element of development.

The restoration of State authority, the creation of a viable judicial system and of national security forces, and the establishment of an inclusive dialogue and a policy of national reconciliation are also guarantees for the definitive return of stability.

Along the same lines, due attention should be given to the establishment of effective disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes for ex-combatants, including child soldiers. Unless there is adequate funding to that end, their beneficiaries may swiftly return to their former way of life and thus imperil the fragile balance that had been so difficult to obtain. The civic education of populations, particularly young people, is part of that picture. Young people are the living spirit of a country who will go on to assume responsibility for its well-being.

The promotion and consolidation of peace necessarily involves combating the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, for we must acknowledge that war is most conducive to the illicit trade in and proliferation of those weapons. The use of mercenaries, which we must combat with all our strength, finds a highly favourable terrain in this respect.

The return of peace, particularly in African countries, is always accompanied by an intense movement of displaced persons and refugees who wish to return home. Every effort must be made to ensure the proper management of that return process by providing funds sufficient to meet the essential needs of those people.

My delegation believes that the elimination of conflicts must be accompanied by the preparation and implementation of a comprehensive and integrated programme for economic recovery, including job creation and quick-impact projects. The situation in which Guinea-Bissau and Afghanistan now find themselves reinforces that truth.

Peacekeeping operations throughout the world teach us that the withdrawal of troops has to be carried out gradually and must go hand in hand with the progressive restoration of a climate of security. The examples of Sierra Leone and Timor-Leste are instructive in that regard.

In conclusion, my delegation wishes to point out that partnership and complementarity between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations remain essential because from that interaction can be born a real synergy capable of ensuring that restored peace endures.

In addition to that synergy, we must all engage to promote internal cooperation between the Security Council, on the one hand, and, on the other, the Economic and Social Council, the General Assembly and the funds and programmes of the United Nations for the success of post-conflict management.

Mr. Belinga-Eboutou (Cameroon) (*spoke in French*): Allow me to begin by commending the energy and effectiveness with which you, Mr. President, have led our work throughout this month, which has been a particularly testing and difficult month. Thanks to your skill, your consummate art of contact and your great sense of moderation, you have been able to lay the foundation for harmonious discussion in the Council. We are grateful for this, and we congratulate you.

We welcome the presence and participation at this meeting of the Secretary-General, the President of the General Assembly and the President of the Economic and Social Council. We thank them for their important statements.

In the course of your presidency, Sir, the Security Council has had to consider a wide range of situations in which peace was in peril either because of the threat

of breakdown or because it was still fragile. I am thinking of Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Central African Republic and Iraq, to mention only some. It is natural that the last meeting of the Council under your presidency is devoted to the important topic of the role of the United Nations in post-conflict situations.

We are all aware that the nature of war, beyond the loss of human life, is to destroy the socio-economic and political infrastructure of the countries affected. Therefore, the first task — I was going to say the sole task — in the post-conflict period is to build and rebuild. Life must be rebuilt, first by giving the afflicted population a renewed taste and desire for life by restoring their dignity as autonomous human beings and as masters of their own destiny, as the Secretary-General has just recalled. Rebuilding life also means giving countries structures and institutions that will enable people to develop and to live a different kind of life.

Over time, the United Nations has acquired unique experience in this area and in recent years has considerably expanded its capacities. The integrated and multisectoral approach taken by the Organization, as well as the valuable support of its partners, today enable it to achieve ever greater success in peace-building and reconstruction operations on all continents.

Africa requires particular attention here. The extreme poverty of its population, the major pandemics, the fragile nature of State structures and the covetous ambitions of external parties render the conflicts even more complicated and disastrous. If we are not careful, conflicts are likely to lead to further conflicts.

In that regard, the efforts of the United Nations should as a matter of priority focus on financing, with the support of funds and donors for the coordination of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes, holding and monitoring elections, rebuilding State structures, promoting confidence-building measures, human rights for men, women and children, and economic recovery. In Mozambique, Sierra Leone and Angola, the application of that approach, in everyone's opinion, has achieved considerable success, and we welcome that.

We note with great satisfaction last year's creation in the Security Council of the Ad Hoc Working Group on Conflict Prevention and Resolution in Africa and, within the Economic and Social Council, the establishment of the Ad Hoc Advisory Group on African Countries Emerging from Conflicts. The close cooperation between these two entities in the case of Guinea-Bissau at the start of this year made it possible to carry out a simultaneous assessment of that country's socio-economic and security problems. That assessment will make it possible to address the overall situation in the country in a comprehensive and consistent fashion and will likely make it possible to eliminate the risk of a resurgence of conflict.

We believe that it is right for the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council to intensify this cooperation and to extend it to other, similar situations. In Somalia, where hostilities have been going on for more than a decade, the Secretary-General is working to set up a programme of preparatory activities for peace-building and recovery. That anticipatory and progressive approach could equally be applied to situations in which the crises tend to be endlessly protracted, such as in Central Africa.

Moreover, we believe that the United Nations should strengthen its role in the implementation and follow-up of measures taken to restore and strengthen peace by its organs, in particular the Security Council and the International Court of Justice.

In this regard, the support given by the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea for the implementation of the decision take on 13 April 2003 by the Commission charged with demarcating the boundary between the two countries is a good example, which should be emulated in similar cases.

However, the major challenge for the United Nations remains mobilizing funding for peace-building and reconstruction efforts in countries that are weakened by years of war and unable to meet the customary conditions set out by international donors. The United Nations should convince such donors to institute innovative methods and more flexible conditions.

In this connection, I would like to recall the commitment undertaken by heads of State or Government at the Millennium Summit, as set out in the Millennium Declaration,

> "To make the United Nations more effective in maintaining peace and security by giving it the

resources and tools it needs for conflict prevention, peaceful resolution of disputes, peacekeeping, post-conflict peace-building and reconstruction". (*General Assembly resolution 55/2, para. 9*)

All in all, the United Nations plays a vital, positive and effective role in post-conflict situations. However, given recent instructive events, the international community should reflect further on the role of the United Nations in certain specific post-conflict situations. In that regard, Cameroon endorses the Secretary-General's appeal to the Security Council to take the opportunity to set aside the differences of the past and unite around shared principles and actions that are to the benefit of the Iraqis, who now need to take charge of their own destiny.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock (United Kingdom): As so often, Mr. President, you have demonstrated your commendable habit of focusing our discussion on things that really do need to be talked about; I thank you for that. Our three leading speakers — the Secretary-General, the President of the General Assembly and the President of the Economic and Social Council — have all given us a lot to think about.

The principles to be followed in this general area will be well expounded upon by the representative of Greece when he speaks later on behalf of the European Union. I want to cover some points and try to look forward, rather than backward, to what the Security Council, with its partners, should be doing in this whole area.

After a conflict there is always a fragile situation, and the agencies of the United Nations and civil society do extraordinarily well in bringing immediate relief. But the humanitarian-to-reconstruction phase still remains weak in many situations where the United Nations has a role. We have all recognized the dangers of a transition gap, and we have tried to point to that in the recent past by encouraging efforts to get the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council to talk about complementary approaches to post-conflict peace-building, because none of us can deny that peace and development are inextricably linked. The Security Council cannot cut itself off into an area of peace and security alone and fail to recognize the seamlessness of events on the ground between security and economic and social issues. We, as an inter-governmental organ, have more to do on that. I think that, with the Secretary-General here, it is also fair to ask whether the structure and working methods of the Secretariat truly respond to the need for this seamless approach.

I think that in the near future we ought to look particularly at the situations in Timor-Leste and Sierra Leone. The Secretary-General has rightly said that no two situations are the same. But every situation can benefit from lessons learned from others, and every situation has certain common factors, which I do not think we have been successful in drawing together.

I hope that when we come to look at the periods after the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor and after United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone, we will take them as a test of how to set a basic model — a template — for how we, as the United Nations, are going to handle the post-conflict period.

There are questions about disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and about the role of agencies on the ground and the roles and capacities of implementing partners, including the regional players, as well as international donors and civil society. Where is the coherence? Where is the operational structure to take forward the things that need to be done? We have a lot of experience of things going both right and wrong, but I am not sure we have drawn them all out into lessons for the future.

I think there are three requirements in drawing out those lessons. One is about expectations — what the United Nations can be expected to do and what it cannot be expected to do. Here I think the role of public information is very important in order to avoid misunderstandings.

Secondly, structure — the structure of the United Nations presence after a peacekeeping operation has gone — needs much more attention. We tend to walk away from it and not leave a structure on the ground — except the traditional one of inter-agency coordination through, for instance, regional coordination efforts. Sometimes that works well, but in more fragile situations it can easily go wrong. Here, liaison with the relevant regional players — the regional groups — is also very important.

Thirdly, the exit strategy for the United Nations — even from the post-conflict period — is important. We have exit strategies for peacekeeping operations. But if we have an exit strategy for a peace-

building operation, we will then have objectives for a peace-building operation — objectives which it will have to achieve before it leaves — and we will then have greater clarity, better leadership and greater competence on the ground.

Then, there are three factors that we must always bear in mind as an adjunct to all of that. Although we talk about the first of these, we still do not necessarily develop the operational response to it: the rule of law and the importance of justice and reconciliation on the ground still constitute a haphazard objective. This is something that we have got to talk about; there is a lot of good analysis now about transitional justice systems, which we can feed into our work.

Secondly, the role of women, not just in bringing about peace, but in reconstructing society, needs to be implemented on the ground from the lessons we have learned. I am very pleased to note that the next biennial meeting between the Development Assistance Committee network on gender equality and the United Nations Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality will take place at Paris in July. Let us make that an operational meeting, not just a re-analysis of the role which we hope women can play. There is a role that we can structure them to play in United Nations activity.

Thirdly, economic and social development more generally has to be part of the equation on the ground. Having a Deputy Special Representative in Sierra Leone for economic and social issues was a good experiment — one that worked — and I hope that it will be applied in other areas. I think the Great Lakes region is one that could benefit particularly from an improved structure in that area as we move forward.

So yes, we as the United Nations have played key roles in Sierra Leone, Kosovo, East Timor, Afghanistan and other missions, and we must not underestimate the benefits of drawing on the expertise gained in these operations as we plan future ones. Too often I think the United Nations experience has been that we re-learn our lessons in each new operation; and mistakes are made accordingly.

There are elements of previous missions that are relevant and can be applied in the future to the situation on the ground, and we must apply them. The Secretary-General is absolutely right to remind us of the fundamental criterion: the interests of the people of the country concerned. They should be the guiding spirit of what we are doing, within an acceptable political framework for them on the ground. We need to apply that experience, and the potential of the United Nations, more effectively to those ends.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): In accordance with the agreed format for this meeting, I now call on the representative of Greece. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Vassilakis (Greece): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union (EU). The acceding countries Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, the Slovak Republic and Slovenia, and the associated countries Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey, declare that they align themselves with this statement.

Please accept my warm congratulations, Mr. President, on your initiative to hold this meeting. The quest for peace being a constant — if often elusive — goal, the international community has constantly been investing in formulating ways and advancing mechanisms to achieve long-lasting peace and security.

The European Union wishes to reaffirm that the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security rests with the Security Council and that the United Nations has a central role to play in the peace-building process in order to achieve stability and legitimacy in post-conflict State-building, utilizing its unique capacity and experience. Peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace-building are often closely interrelated. That interrelationship requires a comprehensive approach in order to preserve the results achieved and to prevent the re-emergence of conflicts.

The European Union believes that this quest for peace also requires a comprehensive, concerted and determined approach to address the root causes of conflicts, including the economic, social, political, cultural and humanitarian problems that are often associated with them. In that respect, effective peace-building requires action — both long-term and short-term — that aims at addressing areas such as sustainable development, good governance, the eradication of poverty and inequality, the promotion of democracy, respect for human rights and the rule of law. Economic rehabilitation and reconstruction, in particular, constitute important elements in the long-term development of post-conflict societies and in the

maintenance of lasting peace; international assistance also plays an important role in that regard.

The European Union believes that a comprehensive peace-building strategy must involve all the relevant actors in those fields and should take into account the specific circumstances of each conflict situation. The European Union believes that non-governmental organizations and civil society play important and complementary roles in consolidating peace, in promoting reconciliation and in strengthening democratic institutions. We believe that strong democratic institutions can help societies reduce the likelihood of resorting to violence.

The European Union has been constant in recognizing the important role that regional organizations can play in post-conflict situations, in particular by building institutional mechanisms that will deal with conflicts in a more structured and more coherent way. We also firmly support close interaction and cooperation with the Security Council in facing those problems. Such cooperation requires an assessment of needs, information-sharing and coordination. We welcome an active role for the United Nations, specifically in the areas of information-sharing, promoting transparency, mobilizing support and stimulating contacts between recipients and donors of assistance in various areas such as training, equipment and logistics.

The European Union, within the context of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), its member States and the European Commission play an active role in supporting and strengthening United Nations peacekeeping and peace-building activities around the world. European Union member States contribute military and civilian police personnel, and — along with the European Commission — they provide personnel for financial, logistical, technical and political support for most African peace operations, mediation and peace processes. In that context, the European Union also welcomes the efforts of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations to work closely with all relevant actors in Africa at the regional, subregional and national levels, in particular for the enhancement of the capabilities of troop contributors and in capacity-building for regional and subregional organizations.

The European Union would like to underline the significance of including peace-building elements in the mandates of peacekeeping operations, as is the case with the important preventive role played by the civilian police, one of the priorities of the ESDP in the civilian field.

The European Union's first crisis management operation, the European Union Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, began functioning on 1 January this year. That operation was conceived and established as a follow-up to the United Nations International Police Task Force based in Bosnia for the past seven years, and is aimed at consolidating the success of the United Nations Mission in reforming the Bosnia and Herzegovina police and in ensuring that the achievements of the United Nations are sustained over time.

The European Union emphasizes the need for the United Nations to develop peace-building capacities and strategies and to implement programmes to support them. That requires increased solidarity, sustained political will and adequate resources on the part of the international community.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Brazil. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil) (*spoke in Spanish*): At the outset, I wish to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this wrap-up meeting on the work of the Security Council. Meetings on this item are an excellent opportunity for States Members of the Organization that are not represented on the Council to share their vision with regard to the work of this body. The innovation of proposing a specific theme for the meeting seems to me a valid initiative that could give added value to the exercise in reflection that these meetings should be.

The chosen theme is very propitious. Today, we are far from the time immediately following the end of the cold war, when we all nurtured the hope that, once the obstacles created by the bipolar reality had been overcome, the Security Council would recover its unity and would be able to exercise its role of global leadership in the settlement of international conflicts. I speak of a world system based on the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The current period is marked by uncertainty and instability, which serve to heighten the possibility of conflict and which may thus lead to an increase in post-conflict

situations in which the United Nations may be called upon to play its role. Post-conflict situations are, by their very nature, complex, and they invariably have tragic humanitarian effects.

It is also promising that dialogue is taking place in the Security Council in accordance with the mandate the Charter has established for it. As we are all aware, ensuring an adequate resolution of the issues remaining at the end of armed conflicts, such as those the Secretary-General referred to this morning, is necessary to guarantee that peace is built on solid foundations. The situation in Timor-Leste, which was the subject of an open meeting of the Council the day before yesterday, is a very clear example of this. Timor-Leste is frequently referred to as a success for the United Nations. The case of Timor-Leste proves that coordinated action on the multilateral level can be effective and that the international community is capable of acting through the Security Council. However, we must recognize that the same attention from the international community will also be required in the new situation.

The role of the United Nations in post-conflict periods is not limited to action coordinated within the Council. Many of the tasks involved in post-conflict stabilization processes entail creating conditions favourable to economic and social development, something that goes well beyond the Council's mandate to maintain international peace and security. It is therefore most appropriate that the Secretary-General and the Presidents of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council are present at this meeting.

Efforts to ensure better coordination between the actions of the main bodies of the United Nations, as well as between other bodies and institutions, are not new. When Brazil was last a member of the Security Council, in 1998 and 1999, the Council held an open debate devoted to the topic of the maintenance of international peace and security and post-conflict peace-building. That discussion underscored the need for the bodies of the United Nations system — and in particular those directly involved in post-conflict peace-building — to cooperate closely and to maintain a dialogue in accordance with their respective responsibilities. Last year, that approach resulted in the establishment of a coordinating mechanism between the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council for African countries emerging from armed conflict, of which the ad hoc advisory group on Guinea-Bissau was the first manifestation.

Coordination with regional organizations is another avenue that should be explored. The holding, on 11 April this year, of a meeting with regional organizations to discuss how to handle new challenges to international peace and security is an initiative that should be expanded.

In a world of expanding globalization, the nature of the challenges we face today lends more truth to the notion that we cannot legitimately aspire solely to promoting a more peaceful world. At a time of transition, such as the current period, multilateral institutions are more necessary than ever. Because of its political nature and legal standing, the Charter of the United Nations continues to be the most suitable tool for creating a climate of cooperation conducive to preventing, insofar as possible, international conflicts and to finding coherent solutions for the post-conflict period.

Mr. Gaspar Martins (Angola): First of all, I would like to commend you, Mr. President, for this very good initiative. This wrap-up session, and the fact that you have invited the Presidents of the General Assembly and of the Economic and Social Council to take part in it, is indeed very commendable. I would also like to say that the presence of the Secretary-General among us is very indicative of the importance of the topics we are discussing this morning.

The subject we are considering is of very particular interest to the international community, with post-conflict situations in Africa, Asia and, more recently, Iraq. This is therefore a topic of great relevancy and, in particular, of great currency.

My country, Angola, is probably the only member of the Council that is fully involved in a post-conflict situation. We have had a long-standing and important relationship with the United Nations, which continues to play a fundamental role in the prevailing post-conflict situation.

The assistance provided by the international community during Angola's period of national emergency caused by war saved millions of Angolan lives from starvation, disease and the most appalling conditions of misery. The solidarity of the international community, in particular the Security Council's stance, was very instrumental in bringing the war to an end.

Fortunately, the war is over and Angola is facing the future with confidence, assured of the continued support and assistance of the United Nations. We are attentive to post-conflict experiences. The contribution of this meeting is therefore very relevant to us.

The Angolan Government has pledged to complete the peace process, in particular the social re-insertion of demobilized and displaced persons and refugees, and to promote a policy of tolerance to pave the way for the holding of general elections and the consolidation of democratic institutions.

We believe that the assistance of the United Nations is a vital factor in the consolidation of the peace process and in assisting with the return of demobilized soldiers, internally displaced persons and refugees to their places of origin. That process, which is the most important goal of the current phase of Angola's recovery programme, is directly linked to emergency rehabilitation and to the reactivation of the basic social services and local capacities necessary to address the most pressing needs of vulnerable populations in the areas most affected by the war.

The World Bank is engaged in Angola's post-conflict reconstruction, particularly by approving a transitional assistance strategy in support of the Government's programme for the demobilization of former combatants and the resettlement of displaced peoples. That support will result in the recovery of the rural economy and provide a permanent contribution to reducing poverty. The World Bank and UNDP are both providing assistance to the Government in building its capacity to provide coordination and support for both humanitarian and development activities.

United Nations agencies and other international organizations including UNICEF, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the World Food Programme (WFP), the International Labour Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), UN-HABITAT and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), are all involved in the development of specific programmes that are part of the transition towards reintegration, rehabilitation and reconstruction for development.

The other very important component of the governance strategy for the transition period in which the United Nations system is involved is related to the building of institutional capacity, particularly State administration, in areas that have been, for years, outside political control. Priority is given to the municipal levels in which UNDP is involved.

Macroeconomic reforms are another component of the strategy for the transitional period, and the Government of Angola is currently engaged with the IMF in negotiations on an appropriate institutional framework. The World Bank is implementing a project which provides technical assistance for economic management. This project is designed to help the Angolan Government increase financial transparency in the State sector and upgrade the existing policy and institutional framework. It is our expectation that this project will be a decisive contribution to motivate again the donor community to provide the needed resources to allow the United Nations system to play the essential role in the consolidation of peace and the country's development.

Angola is committed to work with the United Nations and all countries willing to contribute to its economic and social recovery. The donor community is a fundamental partner with the United Nations and the Angolan Government in that endeavour. In various instances, financial and human efforts that the Government has invested in the immense task of rebuilding the country have been recognized, and we look forward to the United Nations playing a pivotal role in materializing these objectives.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Today's topic is very current. Unless there is a comprehensive approach to conflict resolution I do not think it is possible to hope for any possibility of restoring lasting peace in countries that have emerged from a crisis. Experience has shown that the United Nations peacekeeping operations are becoming increasingly complex and include more and more peace-building components. In this connection, coordination between the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations is particularly important. This has already been spoken of today, and we are delighted to welcome the President of the General Assembly and the President of the Economic and Social Council to our meeting.

With the participation of the United Nations specialized agencies, a comprehensive approach requires that there be no gap when making the transition from one aspect of conflict resolution to another. It is important that the Security Council

provide the political support for the peace-building efforts in those cases when the central role is shifted to the specialized agencies.

I want to say a few words about the situations that were proposed for our discussion today. A graphic example of the importance of a comprehensive approach is Kosovo, Serbia and Montenegro. Here, there is close cooperation not only between the various components of the United Nations system, but also between the regional organizations that make an important contribution to the overall cause.

Another conclusion with relation to the Kosovo question is that a particular responsibility is borne by the parties involved in a conflict. Unfortunately, the positive changes achieved in the Kosovo settlement were achieved basically due to the efforts of the international presence in that province, whereas the temporary self-governing bodies have often hampered these efforts and abused the powers entrusted to them, and have even tried to subvert basic Security Council resolutions, for instance resolution 1244 (1999). This is an important lesson we must take into account with regard to other situations.

Now in Afghanistan things are complex, but that situation is moving towards settlement. This is largely because the settlement is taking place on the basis of principles that were agreed to by the Afghans themselves, with the coordinating, even leading, role played by the United Nations. Those principles were endorsed unanimously by the Security Council. We think this is a guarantee for eventual success in Afghanistan. At this crucial stage, when we are leading up to the Constitutional Loya Jirga and the general elections, the coordinating functions of the United Nations in Afghanistan are more important than ever.

An important responsibility is entrusted to the countries of the region, including complying with the Kabul Declaration on Good-Neighbourly Relations, which was supported by the Security Council. We believe the Council could think about using that base to work out a system of comprehensive guarantees of non-interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

The peacekeeping lessons from Sierra Leone show how dangerous it is to let one's attention wander with regard to post-conflict social and economic restoration. There we have seen a decrease in interest of international donors in these tasks. In our view, this means that the post-conflict process has not been completed. In turn, this has become one of the reasons why this conflict has spilled over into neighbouring African countries.

Finally, with regard to Timor-Leste and the experience of complex settlement solutions, it is necessary, it is important that a flexible approach be adopted, along with quick, clear reactions to changes in the situation in the country, which is in a post-conflict phase. This is extremely important for the success of United Nations activities in the post-conflict settlement phase.

In conclusion, all of these lessons must, to a certain extent, be taken into account with regard to post-war restoration in Iraq. The Secretary-General appealed to us about this today, and the President of the General Assembly also mentioned this point, as have many other participants in our discussion. We are convinced — and here we agree with the Secretary-General — that we must clearly define what the United Nations role and the role of the Security Council will be at all stages of the post-war rebuilding of Iraq.

A special point on this issue was made yesterday by Vladimir Putin, the President of Russia, after his meeting with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom. The Secretary-General also raised this point today. As the President of Russia stressed, we do not rule out the possibility that a settlement could be effected in Iraq without United Nations participation. Indeed, the war was launched without United Nations authorization, but we doubt whether any settlement achieved without United Nations participation would be enduring, effective or just.

We believe, as the President of Russia suggested, that we must first identify the action to be undertaken to resolve the humanitarian problems of Iraq above and beyond the steps that have already been taken. Secondly, we must determine how to resolve the issue of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. This question is of concern to all, is directly related to the security situation in the region and the non-proliferation regime, and cannot be ignored. Russia is prepared to play a very active role in supporting the activities of the inspectors in Iraq. In this context, we must pursue and conclude the inspections in the post-war period.

With regard to humanitarian questions, we are prepared at this early stage to ease or even suspend certain sanctions directly and exclusively relating to humanitarian goods. The other components of the oil-

for-food programme could be resumed under United Nations control while some sanctions remain in effect and legitimate authority has not been established in Baghdad during this period.

We believe that a debate on all of these issues should be initiated in the Security Council and that we must decide how we can reach agreement on these questions. We are prepared for such discussions and the sooner we launch them the better it will be, in particular for the people of Iraq.

Mr. Wehbe (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, I am pleased to welcome your decision, Sir, to convene this wrap-up meeting on a matter of primary importance, following a long interruption of such meetings. Indeed, we believe that this meeting offers a great opportunity to assess the work of the Security Council for this month.

I welcome the presence at this meeting of the Secretary-General and the Presidents of the General Assembly and of the Economic and Social Council. Their participation reflects the importance of coordination among the main organs of the United Nations in a manner that serves the purposes and principles of the Charter and the interests of the entire world.

I am also pleased to pay tribute, Sir, to your wise leadership of the work of the Security Council during your presidency.

The question of the role of the United Nations in post-conflict situations is of growing importance. There is no doubt that the United Nations has played a truly important role in helping many countries to overcome the consequences of conflicts that have afflicted them and in restoring the institutional structures of those countries. We believe, however, that the role of the international community in addressing the root causes of conflicts and in preventing such conflicts should continue to be of high priority on our agenda. That role is necessary in order to avert a great deal of suffering for millions of people that could have been prevented in advance, in accordance with the Arab proverb to the effect that prevention is better than treatment. This reflects the fact that money spent to address the effects of destruction is better invested in the economic and social development of those countries, preventing the eruption of conflict and sidelining narrow, selfish interests.

The United Nations has had many successful experiences in post-conflict peace-building, the benefits of which are crystal-clear to all in many instances. I shall mention but a few examples, such as that of Sierra Leone, although there remains a great deal to do there. There are also the examples of Timor-Leste, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Angola, the Congo and, most recently, Iraq. Iraq sorely needs the United Nations to assume a significant role in helping the Iraqi people to rebuild their country.

The success of the United Nations in such cases can clearly be attributed to the assertion of political will by the international community to assist those societies and countries and to implement an ambitious development programme, including programmes for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants and the reintegration of internally displaced persons and refugees; development projects; and the restoration of State institutions. Such ambitious programmes could not have been even partially successful without international political and financial assistance or the availability of resources.

We now turn to the question of Iraq. In his statement today, the Secretary-General focused on this problem. The United Nations must assume a prominent role in helping the Iraqi people to maintain its sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence. We must enable the Iraqi people to elect its own Government in total freedom, to conduct its own business and to return Iraq to the international arena. Iraq is a country with a prominent place in history.

I support the vision of the Secretary-General, as outlined in his statement this morning, of the role that the United Nations and the Security Council have to play, as well as his appeal to the Security Council to regain and preserve its unity, because the settlement of the Iraq question cannot be fair or just without the effective participation of the United Nations. The United Nations has helped to achieve much progress in rebuilding State structures in Afghanistan, Sierra Leone and Timor-Leste, not to mention its steps to transfer authority from the United Nations to the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government in Kosovo. The establishment of authority and the two rounds of elections that took place there along with the independence of Timor-Leste, are among the United Nations success stories that must be recognized. However, much remains to be done to achieve further

success. That can be accomplished by means of coordination among all the international organizations and agencies concerned.

The results of recent elections in Sierra Leone and the assistance given to the Government to extend its control in the face of great difficulties, would not have been successful without the political will and the financial and human resources that were invested in the country. We feel satisfaction at the progress achieved in Afghanistan with respect to establishing a new constitution, the preparatory work for elections and the further progress in the implementation of the transitional political programme established at the Bonn conference. However, it is of prime importance that ownership of the constitutional and political process should be fully in the hands of the Afghan people. They themselves must freely take the decisions on political issues affecting the future of their country, as reflected in the Kabul declaration. On the other hand, maintaining those achievements depends on the ability to deal with similar challenges.

In conclusion, we must reiterate the need to respect the sovereignty of post-conflict States, to pay special attention to specific national conditions and to let the people participate in deciding their own destiny. It is also necessary for the United Nations to provide all forms of assistance to those countries. That will help maintain the sovereignty and political independence of the peoples of those countries and will provide for their future. In that respect, I would like to recall the regional role to which Ambassador Sir Jeremy Greenstock referred. Cooperation is necessary between the United Nations and regional organizations, on which a special Council meeting has already been held.

In that respect, we would like to underline the final communiqué issued by the countries neighbouring Iraq at the end of their meeting in Istanbul. The communiqué expressed the complete agreement among the countries neighbouring Iraq on the need to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Iraq and to enable the Iraqi people to elect their own legitimate Government according to their own free will and in complete freedom. The communiqué set out other important principles in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. We believe that the communiqué could provide a frame of reference for Security Council consultations when the Council deals with the question of post-conflict Iraq in the framework of cooperation between the Security Council and regional organizations with respect to the importance of a regional role concerning Iraq and other countries.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of South Africa. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kumalo (South Africa): I would like to congratulate Mexico on its outstanding stewardship of the Security Council during the month of April and on convening this debate at such an appropriate time. The presence this morning of the Presidents of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council is a wonderful and welcome acknowledgement that we need all the organs of the United Nations to become fully involved in post-conflict situations.

We are living through yet another defining moment for collective security. For more than 50 years, the United Nations has sought to accommodate the interests of the powerful States without jeopardizing the interests of the weaker States. In recent weeks, however, this delicate balance of State interests has been upset, exposing the inequality among sovereign States and leading to greater insecurity for all States. It is time for the entire United Nations membership to actively engage in responding to the imbalance in addressing matters of international peace and security. We believe that this debate should take place throughout the United Nations and that it must urgently address the question of how to reaffirm the rules-based multilateral system on which our collective security is premised.

The United Nations has a vital and fundamental role to play in post-conflict situations. It is the only organization that can bestow legitimacy and credibility on transitional arrangements. Over the years, the United Nations has developed norms and principles to ensure that comprehensive and multilateral solutions are found to address complex post-conflict situations. Among those principles are respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States and recognition of the important role that regional organizations can play in assisting with peace-building efforts.

As the Secretary-General pointed out during the Security Council's interactive debate with regional organizations earlier this month,

> "Our Organization — for all its imperfections, real and perceived — has built up unique experience in dealing with a range of crises, by bringing humanitarian relief to millions in need, helping people rebuild their countries from the ruins of armed conflict, promoting human rights and the rule of law, and engaging in many other activities that have come to be seen as essential parts of peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace-building". (*S/PV.4739, p. 4*)

South Africa believes that the Secretary-General and his staff, acting with an approved United Nations mandate, have the political credibility, skills and objectivity required for creating an enabling environment in which post-conflict peace-building and reconstruction can take place.

The Security Council has consistently taken the principled position that its responsibilities do not end with the termination of hostilities in any particular country. Council members have adopted an integrated view of security, which takes into account development and reconstruction issues. Furthermore, the Security Council has remained open to establishing a working relationship with the Economic and Social Council and international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

We believe that in doing these things the Security Council has contributed positively to peace-building and reconstruction efforts, and we hope that this will continue. The Security Council is central to the success of post-conflict stability and transition. However, we hope that when the Security Council considers the role of the United Nations in post-conflict situations it will actively engage regional partners and incorporate their views, which may be critical for the post-conflict period.

It is South Africa's view that the United Nations is indeed collectively greater than the sum of its individual parts. There is no doubt that it has achieved great success; it has also had its share of failures. It is still the most appropriate instrument for ensuring that an enabling environment is created in places of conflict and suffering, an environment in which the people can shape their own future and determine their own destiny.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Haraguchi (Japan): Thank you, Mr. President, for having taken the initiative to convene this wrap-up meeting focusing on the role of the United Nations in post-conflict situations. The theme you have chosen is both timely and appropriate — timely because of the increasing number of post-conflict situations which the international community has had to address since the end of the cold war, and appropriate because post-conflict situations demand as much, if not more, of the attention of the international community as the conflicts themselves.

There are a number of profoundly important tasks that must be undertaken in post-conflict situations to address humanitarian needs and to ensure peace and stability. These include responding to the immediate needs of refugees and internally displaced persons and promoting their resettlement; restoring internal security; disarming ex-combatants and collecting their firearms; removing landmines; restoring basic services, such as health care and primary education; reconstructing basic infrastructure; advancing new and effective governance; and promoting reconciliation among the groups that had been fighting each other. I could go on and on, but what is important to stress here is that the committed response of the international community to these issues is indispensable. Our failure to respond to them effectively and appropriately could very well result in the resumption of conflict.

Japan has for some time been emphasizing the concept of human security at the United Nations. As globalization proceeds, it is becoming increasingly difficult to protect the lives, livelihood and dignity of individuals solely within the traditional framework of State security. This is especially true in the case of a so-called failed State or bankrupt State. In post-conflict situations, the framework of the State has often been severely damaged and rendered dysfunctional. It is precisely in such a situation that appropriate human security measures are required. The Council may recall that, as a result of the initiative taken by my country during the 2000 Millennium Summit, the Commission on Human Security was established. The Commission, which is co-chaired by Mrs. Sadako Ogata and Professor Amartya Sen, will submit its final report to Secretary-General Annan, and will make it public, on 1 May. At a meeting organized by the International Peace Academy earlier this week to brief interested parties on the contents of that report, I learned that it emphasizes the task of protecting and empowering

people in post-conflict situations as one of the most important to be tackled from the standpoint of human security.

Allow me to make three brief comments on the role of the United Nations in post-conflict situations. First, the United Nations system has broad experience in dealing with post-conflict situations-experience through which it has developed the capacity to respond to the specific needs of each post-conflict situation and thereby to contribute to the consolidation of peace. But this does not, of course, mean that the United Nations is not confronted with serious challenges. For example, in the United Nations system those responsible for humanitarian assistance and those in charge of reconstruction and development activities belong to separate bodies. As a result, the coordination of their tasks has not always been adequate. Indeed, we have witnessed a number of cases in which gaps emerged between the provision of humanitarian assistance and the provision of reconstruction and development assistance. We must realize that for people in post-conflict situations, both kinds of assistance are indispensable. As far as they are concerned, there is no reason why those two types of assistance should be planned and carried out according to separate policies and schedules. Japan believes that it is crucial for the United Nations to consider how to implement the seamless and coherent delivery of assistance, from the humanitarian stage to the reconstruction and development stage.

Secondly, the United Nations has an important responsibility in maintaining the international community's interest in and commitment to a post-conflict situation until peace has been consolidated and the situation is stable. It might be inevitable for the attention of the international community to turn to a conflict which has broken out recently and in a different area. However, once the United Nations, and especially the Security Council, undertakes to address the problems of a post-conflict situation, it must continue to make a steady effort to secure the cooperation and interest of the international community until peace has been fully and irreversibly restored.

Thirdly, the United Nations, made up of 191 Member States, is the only genuine universal Organization in the world today. Once it makes a decision to become actively involved in a post-conflict situation, therefore, that decision will be regarded as reflecting the will of the international community as a whole. Such a decision, and the consequent presence of the United Nations in a post-conflict situation, can be very effective in promoting reconciliation between the parties to the erstwhile conflict and in providing them with a sound basis on which to work together for nation-building. The United Nations is also in a position to provide those Member States that wish to extend assistance in a post-conflict situation with the legitimacy to do so. We should not forget that in countries emerging from conflict — from Afghanistan to Sierra Leone, from Timor-Leste to Kosovo — as well as in countries like Iraq, which is emerging from the shadow of a cruel dictator, international assistance would be much enhanced through the active involvement of the United Nations.

Mr. Wang Yingfan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): At the outset, I should like to thank you, Mr. President, for organizing this meeting. I welcome the participation of the Secretary-General and of the Presidents of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council in today's discussion, and I thank them for their important statements.

Post-conflict situations involve more than national reconciliation, humanitarian assistance, the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants and national reconstruction. They also involve relations with neighbouring countries and the stabilization of the situation in the regions concerned. Whether the United Nations can play its role in post-conflict situations will depend mainly on the political will of the parties to the conflict and on their firm commitment to peace agreements. Those are the conditions required for the United Nations to play its role. The international community's steadfast support, both politically and in terms of resources, is an important guarantee of the maintenance of stability and the promotion of economic development after conflicts. That is especially true for economically underdeveloped regions, Africa in particular.

Furthermore, the United Nations should promptly formulate a comprehensive strategy to strengthen its coordination and cooperation with relevant international, regional and subregional organizations; only thus can we achieve the desired results. It must also be pointed out that conflict situations around the world vary. One-size-fits-all approaches can hardly be effective; rather, the United Nations should take a tailored approach by taking into full consideration the particularities of the issues involved and devoting

attention to the views of the countries concerned and of the parties to conflicts.

At present, the international community is watching closely the post-conflict arrangements for and rebuilding of Iraq, particularly the way in which the United Nations will play its role. Like many other countries, we believe that, because the Security Council adopted a series of resolutions on weapons inspections, sanctions and the oil-for-food programme with regard to Iraq, the management of those issues in post-conflict Iraq will require the Council's participation and decisions. The participation of the United Nations in the post-conflict management and rebuilding of Iraq will enable us to mobilize the international community to provide the various forms of support and cooperation so essential for Iraq, which requires rebuilding in every area.

China welcomes any programme that is in the Iraqi people's interests and promotes the restoration of peace and stability in Iraq and the region as a whole. We are confident that, with flexibility, realism and a constructive approach, we shall be able to find common ground and to realize that the United Nations, particularly the Security Council, not only should but also can play their roles.

Mr. Tafrov (Bulgaria) (*spoke in French*): Given that the representative of Greece made a statement earlier on behalf of the European Union with which my country — as a country associated with the European Union — aligns itself, my comments will be very brief, as you wished, Mr. President.

I begin by welcoming the President of the General Assembly and the President of the Economic and Social Council. Their presence points to the need to better coordinate the action of the Security Council with that of the Organization's other principal organs, given that the management of post-conflict situations requires an integrated approach by the whole United Nations system, in the light of the growing complexity of the situations that we face.

Mr. President, you asked that our comments focus on four particular cases of post-conflict situations that have been on the Council's agenda for some time — Afghanistan, Kosovo, Sierra Leone and Timor-Leste — and I believe you were right. Those are four successes in terms of the management of post-conflict situations, and I believe that the time is right to look for the reasons for that success, without denying the existence of problems and failures here and there. But I believe that we all agree: those are four successes.

I am very grateful to the Secretary-General for his statement, not merely because of his in-depth analysis of post-conflict situations and the role of the United Nations, but also because of the frankness and clarity of his comments. It is clear that our discussion today is taking place in the context of the situation in Iraq and the possible United Nations role in managing that post-conflict situation. The situation in Iraq is a part of the backdrop to today's discussion, and the Secretary-General was right to speak of it.

I believe that the Security Council's task consists of determining the extent to which its action in Iraq can benefit from lessons that we draw from these four cases to which I just referred. What are the reasons for the relative — even categorical — success of the United Nations in those four situations, despite their dissimilarities, as the Secretary-General said?

First of all, it is because the United Nations is seen by the peoples concerned and by the international community as a principal source of legitimacy and justice. That is a fundamental fact that we cannot ignore. At the same time, if one looks closely at Afghanistan, Kosovo, Sierra Leone and Timor-Leste, it is clear that the very nature of United Nations action in those four situations strengthens the credibility of the Organization to some extent. And I should like to draw particular attention to United Nations activities on behalf of democratic institutions and human rights in those four cases and elsewhere. I thank in particular the President of the General Assembly for having mentioned that dimension of United Nations actions. I believe that Mr. Kavan, a veteran champion of human rights, is well placed to speak about it.

The importance that the United Nations attaches to this aspect of its activities cannot be exaggerated. I believe that one of the common points that emerges from United Nations action is knowing how to manage the oppressive and very negative legacy of post-conflict situations arising from the recent past of these countries, which very often have been the site of major, long-term human rights violations. I believe that the United Nations has taken the position of categorically rejecting the culture of impunity. In order that those societies may be able to build their futures and their institutions on sound foundations, the desire for

stability and calm should not hinder the quest for the truth.

The fact that the Security Council and the United Nations in general have adapted to the facts on the ground is of course another very important reason for the Organization's success in these situations. Clearly, these are four different situations; but the Security Council has tailored the mandates of the peacekeeping operations in each of these cases in such a way as to ensure that they take into account major stakeholders in the field. Cooperation with regional actors is therefore crucial. In that regard, I wish to refer to the case of Kosovo, in which cooperation with such organizations as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has thus far been crucial to the success of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo.

Being faithful to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and being flexible and realistic are thus two aspects of that success. Once again, I completely agree with the Secretary-General that these principles should guide us as we make choices with regard to the situation in Iraq.

I would like to thank the President once again for having chosen this theme for our discussion today, which I believe will permit a frank and interactive debate.

Mr. Khalid (Pakistan): First of all, I would like to compliment you, Mr. President, for convening this important wrap-up meeting.

There is no disagreement that the United Nations has an important responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. In upholding that responsibility, the United Nations is equipped under the Charter with a wide variety of means — including the pacific settlement of disputes, peacemaking and peacekeeping — to address potential or actual conflict situations. At times, the responsibility of the United Nations goes even beyond traditional peacemaking and peacekeeping to ensuring that the peace that emerges at the end of a conflict is sustained and not reversed.

In many conflict situations, in recent times especially, the challenge has been not only to secure peace, but also to make it endure. It is for that reason that the United Nations has placed great emphasis on peace-building in post-conflict situations, both in terms of carrying the peace process forward to its logical conclusion and of ensuring the institutional and socio-economic reconstruction of war-torn countries. Many of the more active issues currently on the Council's agenda have strong post-conflict elements tied to the peacekeeping and peacemaking efforts already in place, especially in Timor-Leste, Kosovo, Sierra Leone and Afghanistan.

One prime example showing the importance of post-conflict peace-building is Afghanistan, where winning the peace still remains a significant challenge for the United Nations, and especially for the Security Council. Pakistan, as an immediate neighbour of Afghanistan, attaches the utmost importance to the restoration of peace and stability in that country. To succeed in Afghanistan, the United Nations not only has to ensure that the peace process initiated at Bonn reaches a successful culmination; it must also remain engaged in the country's socio-economic reconstruction and recovery in the short, medium and long term. At the same time, the issue of security, which underpins both processes, needs to be addressed. Unless all three of those issues are simultaneously and comprehensively addressed, and until the international community fulfils its obligations in that regard, peace in Afghanistan will remain elusive.

The current situation in Iraq presents yet a different challenge. Pakistan has consistently advocated an approach inspired by the need to take immediate measures for the security, rehabilitation and reconstruction of Iraq and its people. After years of war, death and destruction, the international community must assist in healing the wounds of the Iraqi people and in pushing the process of peace-building forward. The international community's engagement through the United Nations will be the best guarantee for the observance of Iraqi rights and for credible reconstruction and durable stability. That would enhance the confidence of the international community in the international system that was established to take care of those in need and distress.

Post-conflict peace-building has also become an important element in ongoing United Nations peacekeeping missions in zones of intra-State conflict. Pakistan is participating in several such missions. In those missions, as well as in similar past peacekeeping operations, Pakistani troops have made their contribution to help local communities emerge from the trauma of conflict. For example, in Sierra Leone the Pakistani contingent has repaired places of worship, schools, hospitals and roads. It has also built sports and

community centres and recreational facilities and extended medical facilities. These are some of the steps that our peacekeepers, and no doubt others as well, have taken within their own means as part of United Nations peacekeeping operations to help restore normalcy to communities torn apart by conflict. The healing of society is part and parcel of restoring and sustaining peace in such cases.

The question is often raised of where the involvement of the United Nations in a post-conflict situation begins and where it must end. In the past, we have seen that the premature withdrawal of the United Nations from a conflict zone has led to disastrous consequences. The United Nations and its Member States must therefore have both the political and the financial will to sustain a peace effort once it has started, regardless of whether it is a case of a post-conflict situation or whether it is in the context of conflict prevention. Peace simply cannot be built without the active and sustained effort of the United Nations. The United Nations therefore has an obligation to address each dispute or conflict situation without any selectivity. Once the process of peacemaking begins it needs to be taken to its logical conclusion.

A classic example of that in our own region is the situation in Jammu and Kashmir. This is both a post-conflict situation over which three wars have been fought and a situation that, if not addressed, could lead to another conflict with potentially horrendous consequences. It is the obligation of the United Nations to ensure the establishment of peace in the region by enabling the people of Jammu and Kashmir to exercise their right to self-determination in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. I will conclude by citing an old quotation: "Any peace built on the compromise of principles is no peace at all."

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Georgia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Adamia (Georgia): I would like to express my delegation's gratitude to you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting of the Security Council, as it provides for broad participation of the States from the regional groups in the discussion of this issue that is important for the entire international community.

The experience of the United Nations itself is testimony that in most cases the Organization's role in post-conflict situations is shaped and structured by the scope and nature of its involvement at each stage of conflict resolution. I would go further to state that the extent of involvement in conflict resolution is to be set as a benchmark, against which the success or failure of the role of the United Nations in post-conflict situations is measured. It is worthwhile to note that in the United Nations Charter action by the United Nations is correlative to promptness and effectiveness.

Where such conditions are not present, where the United Nations resolutions are dishonoured by inaction due to lack of will or sometimes by narrowly defined self-interest, there are always high human, political and security costs to be paid. This compelling reason makes intervention by a State or group of States inevitable in order to maintain international peace and security, as was the case in Iraq. I would add that these States have sound moral, political and even legal grounds for doing so.

This is the main lesson the international community has learned, I hope, in Iraq but has not yet learned in the process of conflict resolution in a region of my country — Abkhazia. Thus the greatest challenge posed to the United Nations is the old one: how to work out and implement an effective modus operandi in both conflict resolution and post-conflict situations.

The United Nations has an important role to play here, given its unique expertise and experience in undertaking a wide range of peace-building tasks. The United Nations is particularly well placed for this role, as it is able to forge the cooperation across institutional boundaries and between organizations and States that is required for finding durable solutions to complex situations.

We are convinced that the United Nations must continue sustained peace-building efforts in Afghanistan and Sierra Leone, in particular to address pressing issues of security and stability through establishing and increasing the capacity of the local army and police forces. Likewise, the reconstruction of Iraq requires the United Nations to play a vital role through utilizing its resources and expertise in achieving that goal.

In our view the United Nations could greatly benefit if it could draft ready-to-use models from its

experience of involvement in post-conflict situations, to use in mapping out approaches in the future.

The Security Council bears primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, including in post-conflict situations. Thus it is important that the Council commit itself to ensuring that its mandates are best tailored to meet the needs of the specific post-conflict situations and are fully implemented.

The Security Council's handling of Iraq's post-war reconstruction could serve as a litmus test of our commitments. The attempt to manipulate the technicalities of previously adopted resolutions and thus prevent the Council from lifting sanctions in order to pave the way for launching the reconstruction process in Iraq is unacceptable and should be avoided.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Aboul Gheit (Egypt) (*spoke in Arabic*): The question of the role of the United Nations in post-conflict situations is gaining increasing importance in light of the variables in international conflicts. This has put major responsibility on the shoulders of the international community, and we must all have the political will to address it.

The role of the United Nations in peace-building and peace maintenance in different phases of conflict resolution is established and is gaining importance, particularly in light of the United Nations successes in Angola and Mozambique and its proven capabilities in dealing with delicate and difficult situations in Kosovo, Timor-Leste and Sierra Leone. However, this role has varied in the case of each conflict.

The United Nations working method has differed according to the mandate entrusted to it by the Security Council. Experience in the field has shown that the Organization has succeeded to a great extent in developing its expert capabilities in planning, implementation and commanding peacekeeping missions in accordance with differing mandates, which vary in size and nature.

The United Nations has succeeded tangibly in building participation and communication bridges with regional powers and organizations in the area of the conflict. Although myriad parties have recognized that the experience of the United Nations in many conflict areas was positive, we must not disregard the fact that the Organization continues to face many challenges to its efforts. They include the fact that some donor States have not honoured their pledges and commitments to peace-building in post-conflict States.

These challenges are also reflected in the lack of coordination between the pace of the United Nations achievements in the areas of security and politics and its pace in building the economic and social infrastructures in the countries affected, in particular the pace of implementing programmes or building institutional capacities such as the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants in civil society, de-mining and trying war crimes.

There is no doubt that peace cannot be divided — it is indivisible — and that the security and political aspects of peace, despite their absolute importance, are not adequate for a comprehensive framework for building peace. A healthy economic and social climate is also necessary to develop and perpetuate that peace.

In the framework of the United Nations concentration on post-conflict situations, surely the question of Iraq, with all its developments since the Security Council adopted resolution 1441 (2002) and even before that, has constituted and still constitutes a major challenge to the concept of the effectiveness of the contemporary United Nations, a challenge that threatens to destroy the overriding principles and norms of the United Nations Charter. Furthermore, the challenges of the future of post-war Iraq are no less important and serious than those that international collective efforts faced during the war itself.

The positions of the Security Council during the last month have shown a reticence on the part of the international community to deal with post-war Iraq. The Council did not fail, in dealing with the issue of Iraq and in the context of resolution 1472 (2003), in the preamble, to refer to the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and to the responsibility of the Occupying Power in ensuring all the needs of the population. Whether the occupied territory had the resources to meet these needs is an issue to which Egypt attaches great importance.

Egypt warned of the risks of a lopsided war, although no one heeded our warnings and advice. The destructive war has come to pass nonetheless. Today,

we urge that certain principled considerations be taken into account in order to avert further peril befalling the Middle East. These considerations are as follows:

First, the two coalition forces that control Iraq must provide for the security and stability of that country as soon as possible and protect the lives and dignity of its citizens. Secondly, the international community should intensify its efforts to create without delay an atmosphere conducive to establishing a legitimate Government, to be chosen by all factions of the Iraqi people. Thirdly, the occupation must end and the foreign forces withdraw as soon as possible in order to preserve the unity, security and safety of the Iraqi people and its country. Fourthly, the United Nations should assume its essential role in the reconstruction of Iraq and the restoration of security and legitimacy there, in consideration of the implications of the situation for the credibility of the Organization and its Charter and for the concomitant role of the regional organizations.

One final issue that we feel should be addressed concerns the fact that, although we are considering and assessing the development and strengthening of the United Nations role in post-conflict situations, we must not allow ourselves to forget that the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, must shoulder their principal responsibility for saving humanity from the scourge of such wars before they begin or are launched and for protecting peoples from the destruction of their infrastructures, the plundering of their resources and the loss of their cultural and historical heritages. Regrettably, the issue of Iraq is a case in point in this context.

Mr. Arias (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): Allow me to begin by thanking you, Sir, for convening this meeting on a topic to which we attach great importance.

In our view, the United Nations key role in the maintenance of peace makes it an essential player in the post-conflict period. The phase following the end of hostilities is crucial. If a genuine attempt is to be made to resolve the problem, reforms must be undertaken allowing the countries involved to be economically, politically and socially viable. Democratic institutions must be established and consolidated, a police force created and the rule of law strengthened, while a sustainable and equitable economy and an effective and responsible administration must be fostered. Moreover, programmes for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants must be established, arms trafficking and the spread of small arms stopped, refugees and internally displaced persons returned home, and human rights promoted. All of this is necessary to the foundation of a country that can develop freely, democratically and in peace.

Some thoughts about United Nations participation in post-conflict peace-building situations lead us to certain conclusions. First, experience teaches us that the early involvement of the United Nations is required. It is worth considering the United Nations mandate at the beginning of the process in order to define a consistent and strategic position for the Organization that can foresee the difficulties to be encountered. Logically, such involvement must in due course be accompanied by the necessary material and human resources without which a mission will have a hard time succeeding. This aspect is essential. The resources allocated to peacekeeping operations often totally and abruptly vanish when a conflict ends, with disastrous consequences. In this regard, in order to establish the most coherent and complete strategy possible, it is vital to promote contacts between the Security Council and the specialized agencies, such as the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Secondly, it is essential to ensure the flexibility of modalities for action, given the need to adapt to a broad diversity of situations. There is no uniform structure that can be universally applied to United Nations missions. In peace-building missions as such, or in peacekeeping operations with peace-building functions — such as the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo, the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone or the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor — the concrete requirements of each situation must act to define the Organization's action. At the same time, flexibility is vital to adapting the mandate of a mission to the changing circumstances of the process. Flexibility is also necessary to establishing structures that will allow for cooperation with regional organizations.

Thirdly and lastly, we deem the evolving nature of United Nations participation throughout the post-conflict period to be indispensable. The Organization should be capable of taking on new tasks as the

situation requires, while an exit strategy should be defined that will allow the gradual reduction and ultimate elimination of the United Nations presence, leaving outstanding tasks in the hands of national authorities. In this regard, we consider it very useful to minimize the contribution of international personnel, while building the capacities of local personnel, as has been done in the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan.

The combination of these three factors — early involvement, flexibility and evolving participation — is essential if we wish the United Nations to play its due role in the context of post-conflict periods, which is critical if we are to avoid a return to confrontation.

Mr. De La Sablière (France) (*spoke in French*): I wish to thank the Mexican delegation for organizing today's meeting, which I believe to be very useful and timely. We have been delighted to welcome the Secretary-General and the Presidents of the General Assembly and of the Economic and Social Council. They have made important contributions to our discussion.

As I am honoured to speak rather late in this discussion, I will not reiterate some very relevant points raised and comments made on the details of the United Nations experience in this very important area. I am reluctant to outline general principles because I can only echo, less eloquently, the Secretary-General's outstanding opening statement to this meeting. The priorities he outlined and what he said about Iraq deserve our full attention, and I endorse his remarks.

At this stage in our discussion, I would like to make a few comments. First, on the evolution over time of the Council's work, I note that the Council's increasing involvement in recent years in the management of conflicts has been accompanied by a double awareness: of both the pre-conflict and post-conflict situations.

In pre-conflict situations, our Organization has gradually become convinced by the facts on the ground that it is necessary to work on conflict prevention. I recall that the Council's debate on conflict prevention started some 10 years ago, and I can observe today that much progress has been made in this area. First, there is the ongoing concern — even if it needs to be further developed — to identify the early warning signs, possible causes and triggers of potential conflicts so that we can try to intervene in time. Secondly, I observe a concern to take measures to prevent as far as possible conflicts from breaking out. I think that the Organization has made a great effort in recent years in that respect, as attested to by the dispatch of Permanent Representatives, the missions of Special Representatives of the Secretary-General and Council missions to the field, as well as the various early warning mechanisms that have been put in place.

What I find interesting is that in recent years there has been a growing awareness, as reflected in today's discussion, of what needs to be done at the post-conflict stage. At that stage, too, the effective management of situations teaches us two things. First, most often, countries emerging from conflict are left exhausted by the experience. Sometimes there is real potential, but economic, social, political and humanitarian conditions are deeply affected by the crisis. More often than not, we have to deal with societies that have been traumatized. In those situations, not to establish a robust post-conflict policy would mean a failure to react in the face of the risk of an inevitable relapse, new chaos and new injustice, and hence in the face of the renewal or exacerbation of the conflict that has just been resolved. In other words, we risk facing a renewal of conflict unless we have a good post-conflict policy in place. We have collectively had that kind of experience. We have had situations of real success, but we must acknowledge that they have had certain limitations. We have seen that — and this has been said repeatedly today, including by you, Mr. President — in Sierra Leone, in Kosovo, to a certain extent in Bosnia, in Timor-Leste and, of course, in Afghanistan, where Mr. Brahimi has played a historic role, as well as in other cases.

I believe that the question before us is very simple: what lessons can we draw for the future? I note three. The first lesson is that, despite everything, the overall record of the United Nations in managing post-conflict situations is in fact rather outstanding. Of course, it always tempting to emphasize the defects and shortcomings of the interventions by international institutions. But, if we stand back and look, the results of what we have accomplished together in situations as varied as those of Timor-Leste, Afghanistan, Sierra Leone and Kosovo are impressive. Of course, we need to improve our methods by taking into account the lessons learned. But we must also be aware of the astonishing — and, as I have just said, relatively

recent — success story of United Nations post-conflict management.

The second lesson that I draw is that what the various situations I have mentioned have in common is that the key to success lies in the comprehensive nature of the approach adopted, something seen to a different degree in each case. What ensured success was the coordination, within one overall strategy, of the security, political, economic and social dimensions. The humanitarian aspect in a way falls within a different framework, but it too benefits from a coherent approach in the other areas.

The third lesson is that there is no fixed model that can be applied to all post-conflict situations. That point was very well made by the Secretary-General in his introductory statement. We know that each situation requires a comprehensive approach. But we also know that each situation requires a specific approach. So, we must be careful in each case to implement the elements that made other United Nations interventions successful, adapting those elements in a precise and thoughtful way to the specifics of a given situation.

I think those are some lessons that we can take from our experience. Based on them, I would like to draw three conclusions, given the challenges that now lie ahead of us.

First, what the United Nations, representing the international community, can contribute in a post-conflict situation, is, first, the ability to establish the legitimacy that is essential to restoring the social fabric of a country whose structure has been damaged by conflict and, secondly, to ensure that country's reintegration into the regional and international community.

Secondly, in a post-conflict situation, the United Nations can also contribute expertise that is absolutely unique given the diversity of the tasks performed by the United Nations and its agencies and given the experience that has been accumulated in theatres as varied as they are complex.

The third conclusion is that in post-conflict situations the United Nations, finally, is able to draw in donor countries and international financial institutions.

I think that it is those various elements that the heads of State and Government of the European Union had in mind when they adopted the presidency's statement on Iraq in Athens on 16 April. That declaration sets out principles on a number of aspects of the question of Iraq. It says in particular, that

> "The United Nations must play a central role including in the process leading towards self-government for the Iraqi people, utilizing its unique capacity and experience in post-conflict nation building".

Mr. Williamson (United States of America): Mr. President, I want to thank you for thank you for convening this Security Council wrap-up meeting on post-conflict situations, which is a good way to continue and elaborate on the discussion we have had in the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations several weeks ago. I thank the Secretary-General for his interesting remarks.

The Brahimi reforms are still not fully implemented. If this discussion can help to push some of those proposals forward, then this will have been a very useful Security Council session. The Brahimi reforms are a good place to start the discussion because they drew on the long and varied experience of the United Nations in various peacekeeping efforts over the years. For obvious reasons, that exercise has been careful not to infringe on the role of the Security Council in making political decisions.

In the nearly 58 years since the United Nations Charter was signed, there have been, by our count, 202 armed conflicts involving 114 nations. More than 27 million people have been killed in those conflicts. The United Nations has played a post-conflict role in only a small number of those conflicts and has met with varying degrees of success. One need examine only a few of those conflicts to understand that the United Nations role varies significantly from one post-conflict environment to the next.

Mr. President, in your useful non-paper circulated last Thursday, you suggested that we look at the United Nations role in Afghanistan, Kosovo, Timor-Leste and Sierra Leone. Before considering the United Nations role subsequent to those conflicts, I would like to make a point about the conflicts themselves. My delegation agrees with Secretary-General Annan that every conflict is unique.

I would add, as a corollary to that axiom, that the role of the United Nations and other international and regional organizations also varies from case to case. If we compare the baseline conditions in Afghanistan —

a nation of 25 million people with a wide range of ethnic and linguistic backgrounds — with those in Timor-Leste — a nation of less than 1 million people without significant tribal or ethnic divisions — we quickly understand why the conflict in Afghanistan was very different from that in Timor-Leste and why the post-conflict structures that the United Nations established were also distinct.

These differences point to the need for the United Nations to tailor its involvement on a case-by-case basis. Former Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld once said that in conflict situations the United Nations must go to a tailor for the tailor-made suit needed for the occasion. This flexibility has been institutionalized in the Brahimi reform process. It is not a weakness, but rather a strength of the dynamic nature of the United Nations itself, which encompasses and is affected by the national interests of United Nations Members.

By virtue of having been involved in more than 60 conflicts, the United Nations can rely on an ever-growing number of post-conflict experiences, as well as lessons learned. This cumulative experience provides a toolbox, as it were, of solutions that can be brought to bear in the face of specific problems.

Part of our flexibility is understanding what the United Nations can and cannot do. We neither strengthen the United Nations or the Security Council nor help bring peace to a conflict by over-promising, raising unrealistic expectations or over-extending the capacity of the United Nations to deliver on the ground.

My delegation takes away several lessons from the United Nations role in Sierra Leone and other post-conflict situations in Africa. One lesson, for example, is the need to find a mechanism for donor group coordination and follow-up and for the reintegration element of any disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programme undertaken as part of a post-conflict peace process. Secondly, there is a need for the effective coordination of humanitarian assistance among peacekeeping operations, international aid agencies and humanitarian groups as a situation moves from peacekeeping to post-conflict reconstruction and renewal. The United Nations is uniquely qualified to provide such coordination in a post-conflict environment, taking policy guidance from the Security Council or the lead security force on the ground — in the case of Sierra Leone, the British military, which provided umbrella security in the immediate post-conflict environment.

Sierra Leone also offers insight with regard to the role of the United Nations in coordinating key humanitarian issues in a post-conflict environment. How the United Nations and the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) responded to the humanitarian needs of refugees and internally displaced persons in Sierra Leone offers valuable lessons. In the case of UNAMSIL, its assistance was focused, responsive and limited to its mandate. That is the way it should be. The primary task of a peacekeeping mission is to support a political process, even in the post-conflict period. The Council acted to authorize UNAMSIL to participate in the international humanitarian response in Sierra Leone only after a clear explanation of the role UNAMSIL would play and after it became clear that UNAMSIL had unique capabilities that could not be duplicated by any other organization.

Another lesson from the humanitarian side of the ledger is that of the importance of disseminating explicit guidelines on the role of the various United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations. It is also important to have clear mechanisms in place to address concerns about overlapping mandates between the activities of non-governmental organizations and United Nations agencies. We saw the benefit of such guidelines in the agreement between the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and UNAMSIL on the use of peacekeeping operation resources to move refugees.

In the area of transitional justice, which is critical to post-conflict societies' movement to peaceful, sustainable societies, Sierra Leone is providing a very important example. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission is carrying out interviews, allowing the truth to be told. The Special Court has now handed down its first indictments against those who allegedly committed the worst crimes against humanity. If those two institutions of transitional justice are successful, there will be important lessons for the Security Council in moving forward in the critical area of transitional justice.

With regard to Timor-Leste, a nation small in territory and modest in population, Australia was the indispensable lead nation in moving the country from conflict to peace and independence. The United

Nations played the central role in organizing elections, and the donor community, working with the United Nations, was generous. In order to build a sustainable society in Timor-Leste it was necessary to build the institutions of civil society, from constructing Government buildings to constructing schools, from training teachers to building a properly trained police force with adequate numbers. The central role of the United Nations has been extremely important in all phases of this post-conflict situation. The success of the people Timor-Leste, aided by the United Nations and the donor community, is significant and very promising.

In Kosovo, after the North Atlantic Treaty Organization employed armed force to end the genocide of Albanian Kosovars, the United Nations played a major role in the post-conflict society, with invaluable assistance from the European Union and the larger donor community. The Security Council met on Kosovo just a few days ago. The United Nations has helped that post-conflict situation. The goal of a stable, multi-ethnic Kosovo is a worthy and important one. As laid out in the Secretary-General's most recent report on Kosovo, and as discussed around this table, major challenges in Kosovo remain. Devolution, tempered by the realities on the ground, must continue. The development of the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government must progress. The human rights of all ethnic groups, including their freedom of movement, must be achieved. In Kosovo the work is not done. But the United States is confident that the United Nations mission in Kosovo will be successful. The Security Council's continued attention and involvement in post-conflict Kosovo, however, will be required.

In Afghanistan, the coalition forces ended the reign of the Taliban. Afghanistan had become not a State that sponsored terrorists, but a Government that was held up by terrorists. Those days are over. The United Nations has been the key coordinator as different nations have taken the lead in important areas to reconstruct post-conflict Afghanistan — Italy in the judicial area, the United Kingdom in illicit drug eradication, Germany in police training, Japan in DDR, and the United States in training the Afghan National Army, with the support and help of the French. This is a very different model from Kosovo and, thanks to the leadership of Secretary-General Kofi Annan and the great talent and skill of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Brahimi, the post-conflict reconstruction of Afghanistan is on a clear path to success — politically, in terms of reconstruction and in other areas.

Given that some of my colleagues have raised the topic of Iraq, I would like to reiterate some of the key principles of United States policy on that issue. Saddam Hussain's weapons of mass destruction no longer threaten international peace and security. The coalition has liberated the Iraqi people from the brutal tyranny of Saddam Hussain's regime. The days of thousands of unaccounted-for disappearances in Iraq are over. The days of torture are behind the Iraqi people. The days of using chemical weapons against Iraqi Kurds and of genocide against Iraqi Shiites in the south are over. The days of human rights travesty and abuse are over.

The coalition has liberated the Iraqi people from a brutal tyranny. The coalition is working on the ground to ensure that the Iraqi people receive supplies of the essentials of daily life, including food, water and medical supplies, until Iraq's return to being a self-sustaining member of the global community.

The United Nations can play a vital role in post-conflict Iraq. Fortunately, predictions of a humanitarian catastrophe, even predictions of a humanitarian crisis, have proved inaccurate. The coalition also is working with the people of Iraq to facilitate their recovery. We are committed to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq, as well as to an Iraq free of weapons of mass destruction, living in peace with its neighbours.

The coalition will not remain in Iraq longer than required. An Iraqi Government chosen by the Iraqi people and serving the Iraqi people is the goal of the United States and of its partners in the coalition.

I would like to conclude my remarks with one other point that I often see omitted in public debate: the will of the governed. We must not lose sight of the fact that the wants and needs of the people in a post-conflict environment are best defined by those people. As the international community reaches out to help a population in need, one of its first tasks must be to seek to provide that population with a voice, a voice with which to articulate their own desires regarding what comes next. Helping the people find their voice is especially important in cases where a new government model is being instituted, as is the case in all of the models that have been cited today in your non-paper,

Mr. President, and in the discussion which we have had.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Indonesia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Hidayat (Indonesia): Mr. President, it is my pleasure to have the opportunity to participate in this wrap-up session under your presidency and to contribute to the discussion on the subject of the role of the United Nations in post-conflict situations. The discussion of this very important subject in the Council under the auspices of Mexico is testimony to its high sense of responsibility and purpose, for which we are most appreciative.

The first business of the United Nations remains the business of peace. When there is conflict, the objective is always the same: to achieve peace as soon as possible, with a minimum of loss of life and destruction. In a post-conflict scenario, the maintenance of peace and security, as an important value in itself but also as a precondition for development, is — and ought to be — of the greatest concern to Member States and to my delegation.

In the view of my delegation, the first order of priority in a post-conflict situation is to respond to the humanitarian needs of the people. The need for food, water, medical care, security and housing cannot wait until tomorrow or be delayed because of long speeches. As the pre-eminent human organization, we must respond to post-conflict humanitarian needs in a timely, organized fashion. This must be the most basic, minimum standard acceptable, and such a response must be provided without debate or delay.

Of the diverse skills available to the international community at the United Nations, those relating to humanitarian assistance and peacekeeping must be among those ranked highest, given the volume of crises to which the Organization has had to respond in the last half-century. In our view, there can never be an overabundance of these skills, capacities or institutional memory. The United Nations should continue to develop and maintain them, in order to have them available and tuned for deployment wherever and whenever required.

My delegation recognizes that every conflict, and therefore every post-conflict scenario, is different. The capacity of the United Nations to learn from every experience and to be prepared for every conceivable scenario by studying and internalizing the lessons of the past is one of our greatest strengths as an Organization, and we must take advantage of it.

In the response to the immediate humanitarian demands of every conflict are sown the seeds of conflict resolution and peace-building, and the United Nations must always be careful to maintain consistency in the application and implementation of mandates. One of the most critical contributions of the Organization is to enter a conflict, or its aftermath as a committed — but not controversial — arbiter. It is of the utmost importance that the United Nations, in every situation, be seen as a genuine friend and helper, not as an external body with a suspect motive. The agenda of the United Nations must never differ from what is set out in the Charter of the Organization, or in the resolutions informed by it.

Experience teaches us that the challenge of political settlement often involve significant United Nations involvement, not only to create the conditions for nationals and groups to sit together to sort out their differences, but often to be a part of the negotiations and of the defining of new structures and directions. Again, the ability of the United Nations to be prepared for these events and to work with the people fairly, authoritatively and impartially is one of our greatest strengths, and it must be jealously guarded and strengthened. If the people in conflict do not see the United Nations as strong, united and impartial, they cannot rely on it to supervise or be part of any negotiations.

I have spoken of the need for the United Nations always to be prepared, relying on experience, for potential post-conflict challenges. At the same time, all situations are different, and unintended mistakes are possible, either in terms of specific mandates or of their implementation. My delegation hopes that, as the Security Council undertakes the periodic creation, modification and review of mandates relating to post-conflict situations, it will always bear in mind the subtle and not-so-subtle differences in conflict situations, and the political and cultural contexts in which they are taking place. Unless we are conscious of these issues and nuances, it may not be possible to arrive at the kinds of decisions necessary to achieve success, or to prevent situations from sliding back into further conflict.

Finally, in every post-conflict situation, it is crucial for the United Nations to support development programmes and the equal access of all parties to the benefits of such programmes. Given the well-established relationship between peace and development, this approach must be faithfully upheld as a standard, in order that the basis of further conflicts in the future might be discouraged.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Canada. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Heinbecker (Canada) (*spoke in French*): I wish to thank you, Mr. President, for having convened this very interesting meeting, and to congratulate you on the way in which you have conducted the business of the Council over the past 30 days.

(*spoke in English*)

The United Nations has been effective and even indispensable in post-conflict developments in Mozambique, Guatemala, Afghanistan, the Balkans and many other places. It has guided and monitored political change, including democracy and governance, in Bosnia, Kosovo and East Timor. It has kept women's issues and interests on the agenda of change, when they risked being set aside for a later that would never come, in places such as Afghanistan, Kosovo and East Timor. It has protected children in conflict and in post-conflict stress, as United States Fund for the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) reminded us recently.

The United Nations has brought justice to the repressed through the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda and in the emerging Sierra Leone court. In each case, the role and the centrality of the United Nations has been different. As Secretary-General Annan said this morning, every conflict is different, every post-conflict situation is different, and each model of intervention by the international community will be different.

In Iraq, we have an immediate post-conflict humanitarian and reconstruction challenge before us. It is in everyone's interests, especially in the interests of the Iraqi people, to ensure that Iraq becomes an economically functional, politically stable and entirely self-governing State, respectful of the rule of law, of democratic principles and of international norms.

The coalition nations currently controlling Iraqi territory have distinct responsibilities as occupying Powers to maintain public order and safety, protect civilians and provide essential services. The wider international community — especially the United Nations and the international financial institutions — also has an indispensable role to play.

While systems are in place for humanitarian assistance, a framework is needed to facilitate greater engagement and support in the stabilization and reconstruction of Iraq. The United Nations has extensive expertise that can and should be brought to bear under these circumstances. The United Nations and its agencies have been heavily involved in Iraq since the first Gulf war and have an in-depth understanding of the circumstances that Iraq faces and of the challenges that it will have to surmount. The United Nations is fully engaged through its agencies and resources on the ground, providing much-needed humanitarian assistance. The United Nations Children's Fund, the United Nations Development Programme, the World Food Programme — those institutions know Iraq. We need to build on the strength of their engagement and to determine how best we can make further use of their experience and their expertise.

In Iraq, as in all post-conflict situations, our common overarching goals must be to meet the needs of the people and to support them in their course towards stability, recovery and reconstruction. To those ends, our approach needs to be flexible and pragmatic. Canada will put the interests of the Iraqi people at the heart of its decision-making. Canada has allocated approximately $75 million to humanitarian relief and reconstruction, of which about $45 million has already been spent. Prime Minister Chrétien announced yesterday that Canada will expand the role of its three transport aircraft in the region to support immediate humanitarian and reconstruction efforts. Canada is also prepared to make police, corrections and legal officers available to provide assistance and advice on governance and security sector reform, and we are also prepared to draw on select units of Canada's Disaster Assistance Response Team if that is needed.

We would be remiss if we did not make two further points. The first point is something that we could draw from Kosovo: do not draw lessons learned too early; wait for the dust to settle. And secondly, do not forget the crises in Africa. Poverty, HIV/AIDS and drought are killing people there, far from the eyes of

the media. The people there need us as urgently today as they did on 19 March: the war in Iraq has made them no less vulnerable. Let us make sure that it makes them no more vulnerable.

Mr. Pleuger (Germany): Thank you, Sir, for convening this wrap-up meeting, which comes at an appropriate time and deals with a very important matter. With it, you are concluding a presidency whose challenges you have mastered with excellence and professionalism, and we should like to thank you for that.

We welcome the presence of the Secretary-General at the beginning of this discussion and of the Presidents of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, and we welcome their important statements. My delegation would like to associate itself with the statement made earlier by Greece on behalf of the European Union.

The theme of today's meeting could not be more relevant. Since the end of the cold war, United Nations peace operations have become increasingly complex. Today, they comprise not only traditional peacekeeping but also a vast array of measures aimed at rebuilding countries — sometimes a whole region — affected by violent conflict. The aim is obviously to consolidate peace and to prevent the resurgence of conflict. The cases that the Security Council has been dealing with during this month attests to that development. Whether it be in the Balkans, West Africa, Afghanistan or Iraq, peace-building as the core element of post-conflict order is the great challenge that we are facing.

Efforts to find a non-military solution in Iraq failed. Parts of the country lie in disarray. Millions of people need basic services to be restored so that their lives can regain a basic degree of normalcy. We must begin peace-building in Iraq by providing the most urgent humanitarian relief to the people who are suffering as a consequence of the conflict and by restoring peace and security to a people that has been suffering from three wars and dictatorship over the past decades. The Security Council, I think, has managed successfully in this phase by unanimously adopting resolutions 1472 (2003) and 1476 (2003) — resolutions that are urgently needed to prevent a breakdown in the supply of essential humanitarian goods. Also, the United Nations has launched a flash appeal to enable the agencies to launch their humanitarian programmes.

An important initial phase of every peace-building effort is the introduction of a political process that requires the cooperation of the warring parties and the will of the people concerned and that takes into account the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity, with a view to establishing legitimate authority and rebuilding infrastructure. In the case of Afghanistan, the Petersberg Conference — held under United Nations auspices — launched such a process, which might serve as a model for the future. In September this year, the Afghans will, it is to be hoped, convene a Loya Jirga and adopt a new constitution — a further milestone on the path to building a free and stable nation.

This task is not easy. Every crisis is different, as the Secretary-General and the representative of the United States said today; there is no general recipe applicable to the solution of each and every conflict. Nevertheless, we think that peace-building requires a comprehensive strategy that includes the following elements: the establishment of security, including the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of combatants; the launching of a political process leading to legitimate institutions and international recognition; economic development, including infrastructure and environmental issues; justice and reconciliation; and social development.

Peace-building can be successful only if it is broadly supported by the international community, in particular the afflicted region. What we heard about the conflict in Côte d'Ivoire, I think, supported that. A conflict in one country can result in the destabilization of a whole region. Therefore, the solution of this conflict also requires the region's consent and support. Only if the work done is accepted by a large majority of the people in the conflict area can we envisage a lasting and sustainable solution to the threat to international peace and security.

Therefore, Germany firmly believes that this task can best be managed and accomplished by the United Nations and the Security Council. The United Nations — as the sole universal Organization responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security — has the capability, the legitimacy and the credibility that are needed. The capabilities of the United Nations in this field should be fully used and further developed. In the past 10 years, the United Nations has gained unique experience in this field.

This United Nations task does not, of course, exclude the work of other actors on the scene: international and regional organizations, non-governmental organizations, Member States and, of course, the international financial institutions. On the contrary, the complexity of the needs and the high degree of required resources make it necessary to assemble non-governmental organizations, Member States, the international financial institutions and important regional organizations in the task of peace-building. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, for example, has played an important role in the Caucasus, and only yesterday we heard impressive presentations by Foreign Ministers of States members of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) concerning their role in Côte d'Ivoire. Non-governmental organizations and other players are essential in working together with the United Nations, especially in the humanitarian field.

Peace-building in post-conflict situations is simultaneously an exercise in conflict prevention. It helps to prevent the resurgence of old conflicts, as well as the emergence of new conflicts arising from instability and insecurity. Peace-building is therefore an indispensable element of the crisis-management triad of conflict prevention, conflict management and post-conflict peace-building.

The next presidency will face a number of difficult tasks. It will be up to the Council to see to it that peace is secured in Iraq so that it will remain stable and that the legal framework to administer that country, its resources and its reconstruction needs is forged. The legitimate rights of the Iraqi people have to be protected. As the Secretary-General pointed out, the Security Council will have to take difficult decisions on a variety of questions — on the issues of sanctions, the oil-for-food programme and the inspections system, as well as on a legitimate authority and on decision-making on behalf of the Iraqi people.

We believe that the United Nations, in particular the Security Council, should play a central role in rebuilding peace, stability and prosperity in Iraq, as the heads of State and Government of the member States of the European Union recently stated at their summit meeting at Athens. We sincerely hope that the Security Council will overcome its past differences and that it will return to its unity of purpose for the sake of legitimacy and effectiveness and for the sake of the well-being of the Iraqi people.

In thanking the Mexican presidency for a job well done, I would also like to wish the new presidency every success in moving forward with the difficult issues on our agenda.

Mr. Valdés (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): Allow me, first of all, to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting, which gives us an opportunity to discuss in the Security Council a matter of great importance and relevance for the international community as a whole with representatives of various regions, namely, the role of the United Nations in post-conflict situations. This meeting also serves as an appropriate culmination of the President's excellent guidance of the Council in the month that ends today. We would also like to express our gratitude for the participation of the Secretary-General and the Presidents of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council in today's meeting.

The maintenance of peace and security, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the achievement of general and complete disarmament are universally recognized principles of the United Nations. As has been repeatedly stated this morning, one of the most important functions that the United Nations has carried out with increasing intensity in this area in recent years has been its work in post-conflict situations, which has acquired particular momentum, gravity and frequency in the various regions of the world. In that regard, it is worth keeping in mind the generic, underlying character of every post-conflict situation.

We must start with the supposition that the pre-existing order has either been shut out or obliterated following the death, destruction of property and social trauma resulting from the resort to violence of the parties involved in a clash of interests. Affected societies require that a new order be built that will, above all else, impede a return to conflict. Such an undertaking necessities the emergence of a legitimate centre of power that expresses the self-determination of its people. It also requires international recognition that enables its full integration into the community of nations. Such a society, regime or new order will therefore have to have international legitimacy.

It is in such cases that the United Nations has, in its brief history, endeavoured to play a decisive role through the Security Council. It has sought to do so by monitoring ceasefire agreements and by establishing peacekeeping forces, as well as by setting up more

complex and demanding operations, including the administration of territories experiencing conflict in every aspect. In some cases that has included developing the foundations necessary to establish the institutional capacity of a State. The United Nations has done such work on the basis of its nature as the unique and irreplaceable institution operating on behalf of the entire international community under the authority and mandate stemming from a Charter universally accepted and respected and in the name of the entire international community.

However, we are well aware of the fact that results have been mixed over the years. From the deployment of peacekeeping operations in the post-colonial world after 1958 to the 40 peacekeeping operations deployed between 1988 and 1999, the United Nations has experienced success and failure in equal measure. The cases of Angola, Mozambique and Timor-Leste — which just two days ago we were pleased to discuss around this table — illustrate the fact that the contribution of the United Nations to peacemaking, and even to the building of a new State, can indeed be very successful. At the same time, however, the debacles in the former Yugoslavia, Somalia and Rwanda are still in recent memory.

There are also situations of protracted complexity. While we can today take note of the stabilization, creation of institutions and beginnings of a real political process in Kosovo, we must also acknowledge the difficulties in controlling violence and the ethnic harassment and obstacles to domestic dialogue that exist there. In other words, the difficulty and complexity of the task do not guarantee a process of ongoing improvement, but rather a permanent and inevitable learning process in which every situation has its own particular character.

Throughout the years, we have observed that some situations seem to guarantee that there will be serious problems. When action is undertaken under conditions of an unstable ceasefire; when the Security Council adopts unclear mandates or establishes missions lacking adequate resources; when the Council does not follow up its own mandates — in short, when there is not the necessary political will to act multilaterally in utilizing the mechanisms and provisions established by the Charter, problems will emerge that will be difficult to overcome.

On the other hand, having the participation of the populations concerned and their prompt embrace of the principle of self-determination, as well as the existence of cooperation and dialogue with regional agencies and bodies — which, as we saw yesterday with the example of Africa, are capable of taking the initiative to strengthen and back up local efforts — and, above all, the resolve of the members of the Security Council to act in concert on the basis of concrete and responsible agreements that are rooted in the belief that multilateral action is indispensable — all this may not necessarily guarantee the absence of problems, but it will establish a stable foundation for peace.

Notwithstanding the enormous problems in Afghanistan, we can today denote a legitimate power base there that will make it possible to build a country different from what it used to be. In order for that to occur, however, the United Nations must possess the determination and political will I have just mentioned.

In addition, the United Nations made a significant contribution in the Americas in the early 1990s in El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua, where it helped to end the war that was destroying those societies. The appointment of a permanent representative of the Secretary-General, the establishment of military observer missions, the creation of human rights commissions and later the electoral process itself made it possible for the United Nations to orchestrate the dialogue between the various factions, put an end to violence and, above all, turn that process, the last conflict of the cold war, into a legitimate solution that involved the entire region, while, at the same time, preserving the interests involved and launching the democratic process in those countries.

It seems to us that these experiences could be extremely useful for the Council as it considers the grave problems that it needs to resolve in coming weeks, to which the Secretary-General so rightly referred at the beginning of this meeting.

If we look ahead at the situation in Iraq, it would seem necessary to collate and learn from these experiences. They may help to ensure that the vital role of the United Nations in the rebuilding of that country is secured — something that all members of the Council have stated that they wished to see.

The President (*spoke in Spanish*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Mexico.

The United Nations is the source of, and the forum in which, the main arrangements and agreements have been achieved that govern modern international relations. The United Nations sets out principles and norms and undertakes commitments that are basis for coexistence between countries. We must recognize, however, that the vision of the United Nations is still, to a large extent, an ideal that remains to be achieved. But it is a valid ideal, to which political, intellectual and social leaders aspire to all around the world.

The United Nations is founded on a tremendous collective force — humanity's aspirations to peace. In every crisis the United Nations is reborn, and its purposes and principles are confirmed and renewed. In this Chamber we have repeatedly addressed the limitations of the United Nations, the persistent failure to ensure compliance with some of its resolutions, and the vital need to reform it.

However, to date the United Nations has been the best creation of the international community. As we see it, it is the only option for curbing war and minimizing the use of force in international relations. To date we have not always found the way to prevent conflicts. Experience teaches us that as long as the original causes remain that gave rise to conflicts, then those conflicts will probably re-emerge sooner of later in one form or another. For that reason, we need to find a way to strengthen the role of the United Nations in reconstruction tasks. This must be the focus of immediate and future discussions of its component bodies.

We owe a great deal to the United Nations in terms of the preservation and improvement of the quality of our lives. To the United Nations, to a large extent, we owe the little or much that has been achieved in the banning of weapons of mass destruction, controlling environmental degradation, combating endemic diseases, achieving equality for women and protecting children in conflict situations.

The United Nations is multidimensional and multifaceted. Among the characteristics that best reflect the multiple dimensions of the United Nations are its diversity and its capabilities. In the context of the role that it recently played in the reconstruction of communities devastated by war, these capabilities have been seen in action.

Peace is still a goal that escapes us. However, in the many and, indeed, contrasting experiences of the United Nations in post-conflict periods, we are finding a way towards genuine peace. As each conflict breaks out, we can find, in the violence and the hatred and resentment that erupt in every war, the seeds of another conflict and another war. There are regions such as the Middle East where this chain appears to be endless.

For that reason, United Nations post-conflict peace-building operations must be the best possible instrument to break this vicious circle. In Timor-Leste, Kosovo, Sierra Leone and Afghanistan, the conditions of the conflict are different, but the objectives for the United Nations are alike: rebuilding communities; supporting them in their efforts to find settlements and viable ways of ensuring political life; supporting them in the creation of institutions; and giving them the means to address the most serious humanitarian situations, while safeguarding human rights.

Every situation presents special challenges. In Kosovo, success has to be measured in terms of the extent to which multi-ethnicity is achieved, not through forced measures but as an expression of plurality and shared wealth. In Afghanistan, the measure of success, among other things, will be the degree to which women are fully incorporated into the economic, political and social life of that country. In Sierra Leone, one of the key tasks on which its future will depend is achieving disarmament, demobilization and the full and fair reintegration of former combatants and mercenaries, many of them children, along with the effective banning of small arms and light weapons as means to achieve shared prosperity in that country.

In Timor-Leste, the efforts of the United Nations have focused on the creation of a national entity that will be the expression of the aspirations of a country that must leave behind segregation and violence. In each of these places, the United Nations has understood that the key is taking a comprehensive approach, as well as working jointly and in consultation with all component bodies and with all countries interested in promoting reconstruction.

Similarly, the United Nations has had to understand and draw upon the work of organizations of civil society and non-governmental organizations. The Security Council's obligation is to pursue these tasks on the basis of clear mandates backed up by resources that will make it possible to perform such tasks successfully.

To that end, the lines of communication between the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, and between the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly, need to be more flexible. My delegation is grateful for the attendance and participation of the Presidents of the Economic and Social Council and of the General Assembly at this meeting. This underscores the shared purposes that should exist throughout our Organization.

The Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, emphasized the importance of this unity of principle and purpose. In the case of Iraq, the divisions in the Security Council have been deep-seated and fundamental. They have to do with a way of understanding and applying the principles and norms that govern the authorization of the use of force, pursuant to the San Francisco Charter.

Given the events that have taken place, these differences will not be resolved in discussions or in mere statements. However, we are in duty bound to overcome them effectively for the benefit of this Organization. We cannot ignore or underestimate the elements that have divided us. We must overcome them. This will be achieved only if we work on the basis of unity of purpose with respect to the role that the United Nations should play in the reconstruction of Iraq.

This unity of purpose will have to be based on the definitions that the Secretary-General himself has delineated this morning. The key to reconstruction must be the inalienable right of Iraqis to decide their own future, defining for themselves the new political and institutional arrangements through which they will try to achieve their national aspirations. The United Nations is an Organization based on principles. Without principles, its existence and mission would have no meaning. In this regard, the future of the Iraqi people should lie in their own hands. The people of Iraq must recover full exercise of their sovereignty, with the support of the United Nations.

Likewise, the United Nations should help to safeguard the territorial integrity of the country and, above all, give guarantees that the natural resources of the Iraqis will be used by them and for them.

The United Nations role in Iraq also deeply involves the promotion of the human, political, civil, economic and social rights of the Iraqi people through the promotion of development and the protection of the environment. This Organization must also help to maintain and safeguard the religious and cultural identity of that country and to preserve its archaeological and cultural heritage.

However imperfect the international order may be, we have normative instruments to which all States involved should subscribe. Of particular importance at this time is compliance with the conventions relative to humanitarian protection, in particular the Fourth Geneva Convention. In conformity with that Convention, the immediate needs of the Iraqis must be met. Above and beyond that obligation on the occupying Powers, the United Nations should organize and coordinate international humanitarian assistance in Iraq. If we agree on the principles, we must also agree on the tasks and responsibilities to be shared.

Mexico is convinced that the United Nations is today the best instrument for finding multilateral solutions to the challenges of peace-building and for fostering international cooperation in solving economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems. The Organization can dispense with none of these purposes without losing its raison d'être. Post-conflict reconstruction is bound up with them all. The relevance and future of this Organization largely depend on the decisions and consensuses on those purposes that we reach at this time.

I should like to thank the members of the Council for the support they have offered the delegation of Mexico as it discharged its functions and strove to reach understandings and to promote the initiatives under discussion by the Council in the course of this month. I wish also to thank the Secretary-General and the entire Secretariat team that serves us in the Council for their tremendous support. I particularly thank the interpreters, who often have to speak even faster than we do.

I wish the delegation of Pakistan every success as it assumes the presidency of the Security Council tomorrow.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.55 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4748/Corr.1

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4748th meeting

Wednesday, 30 April 2003, 10 a.m.

New York

Corrigendum

Page 22, second column, fourth complete paragraph, second line

For have shown a reticence *read* have shown a readiness

03-34480 (E)

United Nations S/PV.4749

Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

Provisional

4749th meeting

Friday, 2 May 2003, 12.25 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Akram	(Pakistan)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Antonio
	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	Cameroon	Mr. Chungong Ayafor
	Chile	Mr. Maquieira
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Germany	Mr. Pleuger
	Guinea	Mr. Camara
	Mexico	Mr. Ascencio
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Spain	Ms. Menéndez
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. King
	United States of America	Mr. Negroponte

Agenda

The situation in Burundi

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-34466 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.25 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The President: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of May, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to Mr. Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, Permanent Representative of Mexico to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of April 2003. I am sure I speak for all members of the Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Aguilar Zinser for the great diplomatic skill with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Burundi

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Burundi, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nteturuye (Burundi) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

After consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council.

"The Security Council congratulates the Burundian parties on a peaceful transition of power in accordance with the 2000 Arusha Peace Agreement. The transition in presidency represents a major milestone in the implementation of the Agreement.

"The Security Council believes that it is now crucial to follow up this positive development with the implementation of those Arusha provisions that are still outstanding, such as meaningful security sector and judicial reforms. Resolving such pressing and other related issues is the only way to ensure that the 36-month transitional period is a success.

"The Security Council condemns the 17 April and 25 April attacks on Bujumbura and other cities by the forces of CNDD-FDD (Nkurunziza). The Council takes note of the CNDD-FDD's 27 April statement that it will refrain from attacking unless attacked and urges all Burundian parties to observe the terms of the ceasefire agreements and implement them without delay.

"The Security Council reiterates its demands that FNL (Rwasa) lay down its arms and immediately enter into a ceasefire with the Government of Burundi without preconditions. The FNL's unwillingness to date to seek a peaceful resolution of this conflict makes it difficult for the international community to accept the legitimacy of its concerns.

"The Security Council urges all relevant regional parties and actors to continue their efforts to bring about a lasting peace in Burundi and stands ready to consider steps against those that are found to continue to support armed attacks by the Burundi rebels.

"The Security Council also expresses support for the speedy deployment of the African Mission in Burundi to facilitate the continuing implementation of the ceasefire agreements. The Council appeals for adequate and sustained international assistance to the African Mission in Burundi, while underscoring the importance of providing the donor community with as many details as possible to enable it to make determinations regarding the best way to assist the Mission.

"The Security Council urges donors to support the economy of Burundi, to honour the engagements taken at the Paris and Geneva Conferences, and, within their abilities, to provide as a matter of the utmost urgency budgetary and balance of payments support to the

Government of Burundi and to contribute generously to the transitional debt relief fund, with continued strong performance on economic reforms by the Government of Burundi.

"The Security Council urges the Burundian parties to take serious, meaningful steps to address human rights and accountability issues. In this regard, the Council welcomes the approval by the Burundian Senate on 23 April of legislation on genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, and legislation establishing a truth and reconciliation commission. The Council looks forward to their effective implementation.

"The Security Council reaffirms the vital importance of the Burundian parties themselves taking ownership of the process to address the devastating impact of impunity, as detailed in the Arusha Accords. The international community pledges its willingness and readiness to assist in efforts to build up the Burundian capacity for promoting respect for human rights standards and the rule of law.

"The Security Council requests the Secretary-General to continue to support the peace process in Burundi, including the immediate and full implementation of the ceasefire agreement signed by the Burundian parties."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2003/4.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.